AUBURN, N. Y.—A CITY FIGHTS FOR ITS LIFE P. 4

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Americanism vs. mob rule

Robeson violence incited by press, OK'd by officials

By John T. McManus

UNTIL last week, Peekskill, N. Y., was an uneventful Hudson Valley community where nothing of great consequence had happened since George Washington made his headquarters there at one point during the Revolutionary War.

This week Peekskill is the most talked-of small town in the world, because of an ugly and ominous occurrence there on Saturday night, Aug. 27, with implications reaching far beyond its rustic environs.

What happened was the suppression of the historic American right of free assembly by mob violence, instigated by a local newspaper and condoned by state and county law enforcement authorities.

BURNING CROSS: The mob was organized by the veterans' organizations of the community and led by an assistant district attorney. The county clerk, who is also local Republican chairman, was among the demonstrators.

In the course of the attack—on an outdoor concert at which Paul Robeson was to

have sung—would-be concert-goers, including women and children, were beaten and stoned, cursed and reviled for their race, religion, origins and supposed politics; their automobiles overturned and smashed. Literature and music for the concert was burned on a pyre of camp meeting chairs.

From hillsides overlooking the scene, Klan-style fiery crosses flamed. Sheriff and deputies watched without interference. State police waited three hours before coming to the scene. They told citizens telephoning for help to mind their own business: " . . . We have our orders."

"OBJECTIVE REACHED": Miraculously, only two of the many hundreds of people involved in the melee were seriously hurt. When it was over, the American Legion commander who was one of the leaders of the attack made this statement:

"Our objective was to prevent the Paul Robeson concert and I think our objective was reached. Anything which happened after the organized demonstration took place was entirely up to individual citizens and cannot be blamed on the patriotic organizations. . . ."

ANYBODY'S TOWN: What stirred the nation and the democratic world about the Peekskill affair—so terrifyingly similar to Nazi storm-trooper outrages in pre-war Germany—was that it happened, not in the Klan-ridden, vigilante south but in a community only 30 miles from New York City; a community ironically located only a few turns in the highway from a site once considered as a home for the United Nations.

Peekskill itself is an overgrown village on the east bank of the Hudson. Once teeming with small industries, its boosters used to herald it as the "largest village in the world." Now the hub and shopping center of innumerable surrounding communities, camps, colonies and bungalow settlements, Peekskill owes whatever culture and prosperity it has today to its summer throngs and the thousands of commuting New York workers who have settled in the region.

But the native population—itself a mixture of European and native strains—embodies all the familiar American prejudices against "city folks," Jews, Negroes, "foreigners." Anti-Catholicism is less rampant than half a century ago, when villagers stole out by night to tear down the day's brickwork on the Catholic Church construction.

In the 1920s, the Klan found the Peekskill fertile ground.

COLD-WAR SETUP: In the present cold-war political hysteria, announcement of the Paul Robeson concert at Lakeland Acres picnic ground, two miles outside of Peekskill's northern city limits, was a perfect setup for an appeal to prejudice.

Robeson himself has been more mercilessly attacked for his politics than any American except Henry Wallace. Beneficiary of the concert was to have been the Civil Rights Congress, the organization which has been fighting for the lives of the Trenton Six, among other civil liberties cases throughout the country. The CRC is on former Attorney General Tom Clark's list of "subversive" organizations. People's Artists, Inc., which arranged the concert, has been smeared by the notorious Tenney Committee in California. The expected audience at the concert would include not only "city folk" but Jews, Negroes, "commies," all easy targets.

THE WOLFPACK: As soon as posters and ads announced the

(Continued on Page 3)

Will the British dance the Missouri jig?

Some say they will, or the jig is up. Above is John Snyder, Secretary of the Treasury, feeling pretty good on a recent trip to England to find out if our British cousins were behaving the way he wanted them to behave. Now they come to the Washington conference (which he'll direct) to find out if they've been good enough to get a bone. (See Anglo-American Crisis, World Roundup).

Progressives in CIO won't quit

PAGE 5

3 Specials: Poland, UN and China

PAGE 12

"Any alibis today, lady?"

IN THIS ISSUE

Calendar . . . 10
Chicago: Rod Holmgren . . 8
China: Peter Townsend . . 12
Dollar stretcher . . . 10
Education . . . 11
Letters to the Editor . . . 2
Ohio . . . 7
Other people's ideas . . . 11
Jennings Perry . . . 2
Poland: Richard Yaffe . . 12
Pots and pocketbooks . . . 10
Report to readers . . . 11
Roundup of week's news 5-10
UN: Marcelle Hitschmann 12
Washington: J. B. Stone . . 6
Max Werner . . . 9
West Coast: G. Richards . 10

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Vol. I, No. 47 178 SEPTEMBER 5, 1949

THE MAILBAG

People for peace

CHICAGO, ILL.

We American citizens urgently need, immediately, to establish an over-all peoples' peace movement in order to counteract the war drive.

Disabled war veteran

Robeson and Robinson

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In answer to Conrad Harris' letter about who is silly, Mr. Robeson or Mr. Robinson? Both stand for progressive America and economic and social equality for the Negro people.

No, Mr. Robeson was not speaking for all the Negro people, but he was speaking for the Negro people that are joining and are already within the ranks of the struggle to strike off the chains of oppression that have so bound us for centuries.

As for Walter White—a true Negro leader? Well, he has shown his true colors in a statement recently printed in Look magazine, in which he discussed the possibility of bleaching Negroes' skins white.

Philip Manning Jr.

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Does Mr. Harris know who put Jackie Robinson where he is? The progressives. Paul Robeson never says anything silly. We're two girls who resent any slurs against the great humanitarian.

Vera and Ellen

We're sure Vera and Ellen, as loyal Dodger rooters, will be glad to know that Robinson this week came up with an able assist to Robeson in a statement denouncing the Peekskill mob riot. Ed.

Why we fought

WINCHESTER, IND.

In your front page editorial of Aug. 15 ("The stink of corruption"), you ask: "Is this why we fought?" The answer is: Of course! What else was there to fight for?

You say, and wholly correctly as far as you go, that "the corruption in Washington cannot be separated from our 'anti-comintern' foreign policy, which closely parallels the Anti-Comintern of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito." But the current era of corruption in Washington did not start with the anti-comintern foreign policy. It started with the anti-axis foreign policy of Roosevelt, and nothing has changed save nominally. Truman is Roosevelt's chosen heir; and just as Roosevelt got us into World War II to stay in power as long as he lived, so is Truman doing his best to get us into World War III to stay in power as long as he lives.

Wilbur Burton

If Mr. Burton can see through the smoke of Hitler's crematoria, he will recall that it was the Axis' anti-comintern policy, encouraged by the West, that brought on World War II. We prefer to believe that thousands of American GIs—and FDR—died for something else than a return to an anti-comintern policy. Ed.

Help for Sims

SIOUX CITY, IOWA

As a result of your story on Terry Lee Sims several of your readers have been concerned enough to send contributions to the defense fund

established by folks here, according to treasurer Miss Mabel Bennett. Your weekly is to be congratulated for its help.

May I, however, make some corrections in the story which the GUARDIAN carried. Sims was not, and never had been, a member of the Farm Equipment & Metal Workers Union (FE-CIO) as was stated in the story. During his stay in Sioux City he was employed at a local packinghouse plant where he was a UPWA union steward. At the time of his arrest in January of this year he was employed by a local foundry.

Further, Sims was—to the best of our knowledge—never given a lie detector test. Circumstances surrounding the case, however, reveal that it was a real railroading job.

Richard E. Fallow
Managing Editor
Unionist & Public Forum

The Rebel yell

WAYNESVILLE, N.C.

A friend at N.Y.U., a former teaching associate, wrote: "Perhaps it isn't safe to send the GUARDIAN into North Carolina?" I replied that he has a lot to learn about the last Rebel stronghold on the Continent. I said I bet that all the people at the P.O. read it before I get it, that that's why it's always four days late! (So is my In Fact!)

The coverage of the Daniels case in the GUARDIAN has been timely and valuable to the cause of progressivism in this state.

Bernard Raymund

Preamble to progress

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In these times when reactionaries misinterpret the words progress and freedom it would make sense for the GUARDIAN to have a preamble. For example:

Progress is everybody's birthright
Depending on your thinking and your acts
To make this a better world to live in
You must learn the truthful facts.

Lew Lewis

Your loyalty test

DETROIT, MICH.

The fashion being what it is for loyalty tests I think progressives should have a loyalty test questionnaire. Suggested:

1. Have you paid your 1949 membership in the Progressive Party?
2. Have you mailed in your subscription to the GUARDIAN?
3. Do you think Henry Wallace is extreme for wanting the implementation of our U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights?
4. Do you think?
5. Are you known to have made phone calls to your friends to enlist their support in political action you believe is important, circulated petitions, walked in the picket line, written to your congressman?
6. Will you be there when the fighters for freedom are counted?

Devern Stocker

The first line

COLCHESTER, VT.

Congratulations on giving so much space to the "Quakers' Clarion Call for Peace," also for using Jackie Robinson's words to unite rather than divide.

I was very disappointed to read that the Bill of Rights Conference voted against the Socialist Workers Party resolution. Apparently Progressives didn't show up in a large enough body—or at least those Progressives who must have been in the majority to approve the following in our Progressive Party platform at the 1948 convention:

"The Progressive Party will fight for the Constitutional rights of Communists and all other political groups to express their views as the first line in the defense of liberties of a democratic people." (Emphasis mine.)

We who believe this is the first line of defense of the liberties of a democratic people must make a greater effort to "fight for it" at Progressive meetings and others as well.

Martha D. Kennedy

Maggots on the slide

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Lately we have been flooded with "spy" headlines. Finally Judy Coplon was made a scapegoat to justify all the phony furor.

However, when a situation arises that is real (as well as dangerous to the American people) no newspaper takes up the cudgel in the people's defense. Only sensational stories are provided.

The five-percenters who now accidentally hit the headlines are not new. The Gen. Bennett Meyers case proved that.

How many boys have died because these Washington rats (nurtured on the taxpayers' money) have put their pockets before the welfare of the people of the U.S.A.?

Why have not the Gold Star Mothers demanded justice for their dead? Where are the vets' organizations? Are they all blind? Can't they see that here is something more potent, more dangerous than spies and saboteurs?

We do not want sensational stories. We want punishment, after a full dress investigation, for these maggots eating at the vitals of the American people.

Leroy Dixon

That's a fine idea!

SEATTLE, WASH.

On a recent trip through Europe I learned how Henry Wallace is loved by progressives everywhere. In every country one of the first questions asked me was always, "Why didn't you elect Henry Wallace?" It was unbelievable to them that if the American people really believed in peace, they would not elect the only Presidential candidate who really stood for peace.

And because in Europe they would use to good advantage, in their own fight for peace and progress, the facts about America they could learn in the GUARDIAN, I plan to send some subscriptions to them.

Hazel Johnson

Bewitching the hunter

CHICAGO, ILL.

The best way to stop a witch-hunter when he asks you the $64 question is to answer, 'I'm an anti-fascist.'

This puts him on the spot instead of you, as he cannot then disagree with you without admitting he is a pro-fascist, which of course, he will not do even though he is a fascist and doesn't know it—like most reactionaries.

Tom Kingswood

Hamburg . . . Peekskill

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was only a little boy in 1933, but I was a little boy in the city of Hamburg, Germany.

As we sat there in the Peekskill grove, deep into the night, while the state troopers decided what to do with us, I remembered the night of Dec. 31, 1932. It was New Year's Eve, and it was less than a month before Hitler assumed control of the country.

I remember how the Nazis in Hamburg celebrated the New Year's eve. I remember how they tore wildly through the street only a block from my home. And then I heard the panes shattering. A Jewish bookstore was raided and the books were piled onto a fire to herald the coming of Hitler. A liquor store was smashed, and what they couldn't carry away was washed into the streets. I remember because for days afterwards that street stank of ferment, and for years afterwards the world was infected.

I've only been around this world two dozen years plus one. Twice in this time I've seen violence take root with official sanction. Twice this violent officialdom had the brazen audacity to label advocates of peace conspirators of violence. ONCE the people failed. We who saw the indescribable, unreasoning fury of the fascist mob on our own American soil are filled with the determination that the people shall not fail once again.

Michael Scott

Jennings Perry

Wonderful two-horse shay

AFTER the party conventions last year, President Truman called Congress back in session to act on the brand new Democratic and Republican pledges instanter. It was his most successful coup.

Congress thumbed its nose at the party platforms; and the public, used to the betrayal of party pledges in due time, considered itself insulted by the novelty of betrayal in waltz time. Obviously either the party pledges were worth nothing or the Congress was made up of a choice lot of renegades.

With two cherished illusions at stake, the public refused to believe that the glorious two-party system had gone completely to pot. For if the party platforms were meaningless, the people were without the means of guiding government by elective mandate.

Mr. Truman sprang to the stump to lambaste the "do nothing" Congress—the "Republican" Congress, of course; and the electorate, still pinning its faith upon the bright progressive promises written at Philadelphia, gave him a Democratic Congress to get on with the work. . . .

THE work is where it was. In the year that has passed since the special showdown session by which Mr. Truman proved the contumacy of the 80th Congress, the 81st Congress has proved as irresponsible as its predecessor. The liberal Democratic program has been bounced out of the window as cavalierly by the Democratic 81st as it was by the Republican 80th. Even those promises given alike by both parties—on poll tax and FEPC, for instance—have been left to wither on the vine.

Again the American public must consider whether the two-party system has not indeed gone to pot, whether there is any reliance to be placed in party covenants so callously unfulfilled. In essence the question is whether, in passing through these high times in which the course of government should reflect the best judgment of the people, this nation can continue to govern itself by a process of make-believe.

Already Mr. Truman is preparing to take the stump again to explain how it is that his party needs to repeat in its 1950 campaign the same promises it gave in 1948—and why it is that people should be expected to expect more of another Democratic Congress than of the one they now have. The President will not enter intraparty contests but will "hold himself free" to support the Democratic candidates for congressional seats.

IT IS going to take more doing this time. There is no possibility of another spectacular showdown with Congress. This is a Democratic Congress: the showdown which has been in progress all summer has revealed that a Democratic pledge is as stale and unprofitable as a Republican pledge.

Mr. Truman will harp on the "Republican slowdown strike," and it is true that the Republicans could have put through the civil rights legislation both parties dangled before the voters; but it is a Democratic Congress and it will be difficult to convince the public that the Republicans are to blame for what the Democrats did not do.

Mr. Truman has tried to clear his skirts by ceremoniously purging the Dixiecrats from his party's offices. **But it has not been the Dixiecrats, but the old regular Democrats in Congress who have torpedoed the Democratic platform. These regulars, protected by the poll tax the party has made no real effort to remove, will be back in the 82nd Congress—with their monkeywrenches.**

WHATEVER Mr. Truman may offer in 1950—whatever his party or its Republican opponents may offer—the public must receive with fingers crossed. There can be no guarantee of delivery—and for the public only a gamble which experience has shown to be a sorry gamble. There will be nothing to choose between the old parties except the tarnished vows of the one and the tawdry vows of the other.

A nation proud of its enterprise should find it convenient to look around—and try to do better than this.

Americanism vs. mob rule

How Peekskill press instigated violence at Robeson concert

(Continued from page 1)

concert, the Peekskill **Evening Star**, one of the Macy chain of rural N.Y. papers, began to incite public resentment against the concert.

"The time for tolerant silence that signifies approval is running out," the newspaper said editorially. Hearst and Scripps-Howard papers in N. Y. C. took up the cry.

A few days before the date set, the Peekskill Joint Veterans Council, composed of American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Catholic and Jewish War Veterans, called a meeting to organize a demonstration against the concert. The meeting was held in the offices of Leonard Rubenfield, Peekskill attorney and assistant district attorney of Westchester County. Veterans' posts in surrounding communities were alerted to be on hand at the concert entrance.

When news of the demonstration plans became public, sponsors of the concert sought police protection. County Executive Herbert E. Gerlach replied: "The right of free speech and free assemblage is not limited to any particular group or person. The rights of others, of course, must be protected. I referred your telegram to the district attorney's office and have every confidence that the matter will receive all necessary and proper attention from our law enforcement department."

MOBILIZATION: On the day of the concert the **Evening Star** published a skirt-clearing editorial on its front page, acknowledging that it had called for a demonstration but disclaiming any responsibility for violence, which by then the whole community expected.

At the picnic grounds that evening, members of the arrangements committee arrived at about 6:30 to place chairs, programs, microphones etc. During the day some ticket-holders had arrived by bus from N. Y. and had picnicked and gone swimming in the pool. By 7:30 perhaps 150 people were in the picnic grounds.

Then the patriotic organizations arrived, led by the assistant district attorney, accompanied by four deputy sheriffs and followed by battalions of teen-age youths from communities for miles around.

Bands played, auto horns tooted, signs were displayed demanding that the "Communists" get out. People arriving for the concert found the roads blocked by the autos of the demonstrators and spectators. A traffic jam backed up clear into Peekskill's city limits.

A GUARDIAN reader who was among the early arrivals provides this report of what transpired:

TEN TO ONE: "By 8 o'clock the highway brigade had mounted into the thousands, and a road block was established to prevent any more cars from entering. We were sealed in tight. The air was tense with anticipation.

"While the stage was being prepared several hundred yards down the road, some of us went to the entrance of the picnic grove to prevent a mass invasion. Shortly after eight a huge cross was set ablaze in the grove. The hour of invasion seemed at hand. The air was still except for the piercing shouts of 'kike,' 'nigger,' 'Jew bastard.'"

"And then fascism let loose in all its fury. The mob came streaming down upon us, ten to one, and then retreated. From afar came the strains of a dissonant band. The Legion parade came marching down the highway, clomping away in an eerie remembrance of early Hitler days—the brassy band, the drunken old men, the youngsters with unreasonable hate in their eyes and the lust for blood in their hearts. This was to be no simple demonstration, it was evident.

"The parade doubled back, and back again. Reinforced, with nearly 5,000 supporters on the highway, the mob charged slowly down the road again.

"We were a short four dozen, lined up solidly across the road, face to face and toe to toe with the mob. As long as we were solid, we thought we could hold out for time without violence until police arrived."

LAST NAZI TOUCH: "Down in the grove the concert had started. George Walker began to play a few bars of Chopin, when rocks and tomatoes were hurled from the woods behind the stage. A group of screaming teen-agers came tearing through the field, a kid of no more than six following closely on their heels.

"Up front, singing 'We Shall Not Be Moved,' we stood our ground while the mob flailed into us with hurtling rocks and swinging fists. They fell back, then attacked again, this time with motorized support—a truck came charging down the road.

"The mob had increased to well over five hundred, and drove us back to the stage. A group of girls in the audience had been leading folk songs. Another group had been square dancing. Two young girls, 15 and 18, played the tunes for the Virginia Reel even while hoodlums mounted the stage.

"And then someone pulled the switch on the generator truck, and the floodlights went out. The field was in utter darkness. Hoodlums were running amok, charging into each other and into us.

"But they soon found another outlet. Finally the cross-burning, the clubbing, the violence was topped off with a spectacle reminiscent of one of the most hideous crimes upon which Hitler paved his road to power. Camp chairs were thrown onto a pile and soon a bonfire was set ablaze. With fiendish delight the hoodlums threw musical scores and literature into the blaze. The book burnings had come to America.

"Three hours after the violence started, police arrived."

The aftermath

BEST news coverage of the affair was provided to New Yorkers by the **Daily Compass**, and to Peekskill area residents by radio station WLNA.

The radio station reported a Negro man beaten unconscious and left lying on the ground for more than two hours, until a state policeman, arriving on the scene after ten o'clock, sent for an ambulance. Women and children were reported herded into the swimming pool and forced to remain there while hoodlums pelted them and hurled invective at them. One woman was thrown over a barbed wire fence. Her eight-month old baby was first taken from her arms by a chivalrous Legionnaire. Whiskey and beer were passed out liberally to the marauding youth by their elders.

Jewish War Veterans found themselves part of a mob shouting anti-Semitism and demanding lynching for Robeson. Fighting broke out among the veterans themselves.

Next day a group of citizens met at a home in Katonah to set up a Committee for Law and Order. State police and sheriff deputies turned out in force to "protect" this meeting, which they did by jotting down the car license numbers of all those attending.

REVULSION & SHAME: Showered with telegrams, Governor Dewey ordered an investigation by county officials. Without investigating, the county district attorney replied that the riot started when a demonstrator was attacked by one of those defending the entrance to the picnic grounds. Later the DA sent pictures of the brawl to N.Y. police for possible identification of faces appearing in the pictures. Obvious aim of this was to try to fix the blame on the attacked rather than the attackers.

But before many days of last week had passed, not only widespread protest but revulsion and shame had been expressed by all manner of people and groups.

Jewish War Veterans' N.Y. commander Arthur J. Aronson said the demonstration "must find nothing but revulsion in real Americans who are opposed to any form of wool-hatters, black shirts or super-Americans." His group's participation, he said, was "contrary to our national organization's policy." He proposed court-martial and ousters for JWV members participating.

EVEN THE LEGION: In lower Westchester County, the Peter H. Lehman Post of the American Legion, named for the son of former Gov. Herbert Lehman, denounced the riot as "undemocratic and un-American."

Protests were voiced by the American Civil Liberties Union, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Henry Wallace, O. John Rogge, Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Eleanor Roosevelt, many unions, Civil Rights Congress, and many others, including Dodger infielder Jackie Robinson who was recently induced by the House Un-American to challenge Paul Robeson's political views. Robinson said:

"It's Robeson's right to do or be or say as he believes. . . . I think those rioters ought to be investigated and let's find out if what they did is supposed to be the democratic way of doing things."

WHO USES VIOLENCE? At a huge meeting in Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom a few nights after the Peekskill attack, Paul Robeson called the affair "a preview of American storm troopers in action." Unable to reach the scene of Saturday's riot because of the traffic jam in the area, Robeson promised to sing in Peekskill and all over the United States. "We understand now," he said, "that the surest way to get police protection is to be prepared to protect ourselves."

To the offer of Clyde Lewis, VFW commander-in-chief, to buy him "a one-way ticket to Russia," Robeson replied: "I am going to stay right here and fight for my people and the rights of all Americans." He suggested that he had more right than Lewis to stay here, since one of his maternal ancestors had baked bread for George Washington's soldiers and his father's people had been "slaves upon whose backs the wealth of this country was built."

"This was a concert for the Civil Rights Congress," Robeson said. "It turned out to be an invasion of civil rights. It's pretty clear now who uses force and violence in this country. I doubt that any American can call this democratic procedure."

At the same rally Vito Marcantonio, candidate for Mayor of New York, declared that "the real responsibility now sits on the Supreme Court disgracing the Supreme Court of the United States. I mean Tom Clark."

Robeson returns

As GUARDIAN went to press Paul Robeson announced that he would sing in Peekskill on Sunday, Sept. 4, at an open-air picnic-ground site one mile from the spot where violence prevented his concert last week.

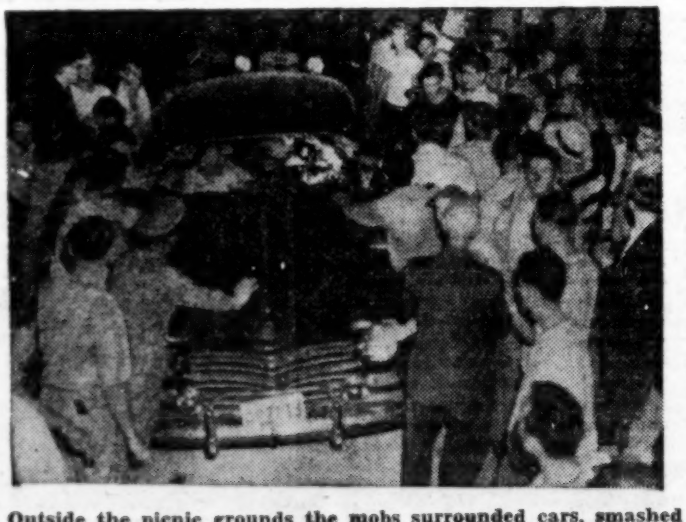
He is returning at the invitation of the Citizens Committee for Law and Order in Westchester County.

Earlier in the week Robeson had told a Harlem protest rally: "I'm going back to Peekskill with my friends and they'll know where to find me."

Twenty thousand Robeson supporters were expected to attend the concert.

In Peekskill 14 local veterans' groups petitioned for permission to stage a "parade" at the time of the concert at the scene of last week's violence one mile away.

A mother took her child to Lakeland Acres for an evening of music—and this is what the hoodlums did to her.



Outside the picnic grounds the mobs surrounded cars, smashed the windows and attempted to overturn the cars with the occupants inside.

Auburn fights against becoming a ghost town

Harvester shutdown threatens entire city

By Lawrence Emery
GUARDIAN Staff Correspondent

AUBURN, N. Y.

Auburn State Prison, oldest in the State of New York (1816), with its high walls, squat gun turrets and drab barred windows, is the first sight upon stepping off a train in Auburn. Near the prison's front gate is a plaque bearing the information that the first electrocution in the state took place there; the city takes a morbid pride in this footnote to its history.

Symbolic? In a far-fetched way, yes, because half the town is now strapped in an economic electric chair with International Harvester Company ready at the switch. Most of the community is battling for its life.

A FIFTH OF A CITY: On June 15, 1949, the company announced, without warning, that it will permanently close down its Auburn plant by November, 1950, possibly earlier.

The factory employs 1,800 workers; their dependents add up to more than 5,000 persons. All told, better than one-fifth of the community's total population is directly dependent upon International Harvester. The weekly Harvester payroll averages $125,000, and there is scarcely a business or a profession in the city that does not draw part (or all) of its sustenance from the plant and its workers.

Headlines from the Auburn Citizen-Advertiser the day of the announcement reveal its effect: "Bombshell Smites Auburn . . ." "1,800 Workers Stunned . . ." "City Reels . . ." "Mayor Staggered . . ." "Shocked I-H Workers Gather In Knots As Grave News Spreads . . ." "A Thunderbolt . . ."

Ted Fedigan, employe of the Auburn plant of International Harvester, with Mrs. Fedigan and eight of their nine children. Like 1,800 other Harvester workers, he faces an economic blackout if Harvester is allowed to close down its Auburn plant.

MOVE? NONSENSE! Added to the shock was a sense of moral outrage: Harvester workers had been duped and lied to by the Harvester Co. For years a rumor that the Auburn plant would some day be closed down had been kept alive in the town, but no one quite believed it; in recent times the rumor was counteracted by company plans to modernize and expand its Auburn operations.

Then in January, 1948, Harvester President John L. McCaffrey and Vice President Ralph C. Archer themselves came to Auburn, personally dispelled all doubts about the Auburn plant's permanency. The plant bulletin board quoted Archer: ". . . of all the Farm Implements Workers, only Auburn came close to 1947's production schedule." The reason: "Mr. Archer gave most of the credit to the cooperative way Auburn management and Auburn employes get along."

President McCaffrey was even more explicit. Everybody knew Harvester had a huge modern plant at Memphis, Tenn., almost completed. Auburn's major production item was a popular, one-man hay baler; the story was that the Memphis plant would take this over.

The Auburn company bulletin quoted McCaffrey: "He said that the new Memphis works would build a hay baler, but a smaller model than the 50T, and relieved any fears we might have had about losing the baler; and in reference to those 'I-H is leaving Auburn' rumors, he stated that he could 'see no reason why I-H won't always be in Auburn.'"

BLOW FROM BEHIND: This was cheering news to the whole town. I-H workers slept better and spent more; with their future secure, they went ahead and made down payments on new cars, blew themselves to new clothes, bought their own houses without too much worry about the mortgage.

When the blow came in June this year, it was like being clubbed from behind. I-H workers were bitter and angry.

Ruefully they dug up old public declarations of Harvester management. One was: "Business must be conducted as a social institution." Another: "We will not attempt to break down or destroy what we have built up over the years, but rather to improve our whole program of human relations."

THE CHICAGO EPISODE: The whole city reacted swiftly. Members of Local 180 of the CIO Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, which has had the Auburn plant under control since 1944, hustled out with petitions, signed up almost everybody they talked to, and formed a Citizen's Committee to Save Auburn. The Chamber of Commerce set up another committee. Mayor Edward T. Boyle appointed a third.

All three worked together; on Aug. 2 they sent a joint nine-man delegation, accompanied by Republican Congressman John Taber whose home town is Auburn, to Chicago to talk to Harvester top management. They argued and appealed for more than two hours with eight Harvester officials.

President McCaffrey heard them for a time but left early. Vice President Archer heard them out; when they were done he handed them a long statement which boiled down to a final declaration: "The die is cast."

Later it was learned that the statement had been released to the press before the delegation's arrival in Chicago: their mission had been lost before it started.

THE OTHER TOOLS: Back home the delegation issued a gloomy report: "If there is anything else to be done . . . it must be undertaken through other methods and with other tools than those exercised or held by the General Committee from Auburn." Some were ready to quit; later it turned out that a few were over-anxious to quit.

There was a rift in the town: powerful local interests, it seemed, were eager to see Harvester get out—for their own reasons. (One strong rumor was that two members of the delegation had remained behind in Chicago to dicker privately with Harvester for purchasing rights to the Auburn plant).

But the union wasn't quitting; there were "other methods and other tools" and to these it turned quickly. One was a demand for government intervention to save the city; for this it had sound, solid and compelling arguments. And Grant Oakes, president of FE-CIO, had this to say about Harvester management: "I know the official family of International Harvester and I know they have changed their minds about bigger things than the closing of the Auburn plant."

OLD TIME STRANGLER: Backing its demand for government intervention, the union points out that Harvester began as a monopoly in 1902 by swallowing five top firms in the field, and has been under government fire for monopoly practices — strangling markets and rigging prices — since 1912. In 1914 it was found guilty of conspiracy and violation of the anti-trust laws. It was denounced by the Federal Trade Commission in 1938, and in 1948 a new action was brought against the firm by the government.

Concurrently, the company enriched itself fabulously during the war by operating for its own profit six modern factories built and paid for by the government with tax money.

Since the war the company has acquired outright from the War Assets Administration four modern tax-built plants at Melrose Park, Ill.; Louisville, Ky.; Evansville, Ind., and Chicago, at a price estimated by the union to be 12c on the dollar. Actually, the cost to the government of the structures alone—aside from equipment and machine tools—was $43,920,00. Harvester paid $27,448,000. There is no record of how much equipment the company acquired along with the plants.

GHOST TOWN COMING UP: But because of these acquisitions, Harvester is now prepared to abandon its Auburn plant, despite its assurances a year ago that it had no such intention, and to make the city of Auburn a ghost town.

To this the Farm Equipment Union says: "If giant corporations can go so far as to secure plants cheaply out of the public domain, and then utilize them to pyramid profits, fix prices, and create mass unemployment and misery in a community like Auburn—all while under anti-trust investigation by the government—the traditional American competitive system stands not as merely threatened but actually destroyed, and replaced by monopoly control over the lives and welfare of the people."

ACTION IS NEEDED: Will the government act? That depends on how much of a stir the city of Auburn itself can create, and how much national public support the town gets.

To date the government, state and federal, has shown little interest in Auburn's tragedy. A resolution calling for a congressional investigation has been routinely referred to a sub-committee of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report. Governor Dewey's New York State Department of Commerce has "alerted" itself to be "on the lookout for any manufacturer whose expansion plans may suggest the possible use of the Auburn factory," and at the moment is content to let the matter rest there.

Meanwhile Auburn itself is rallying its forces for a no-quarter fight.

HOW THE FARM EQUIPMENT LOCAL THERE AND THE TOWNSPEOPLE ARE BATTLING AGAINST ECONOMIC DISASTER WILL BE TOLD IN NEXT WEEK'S GUARDIAN.

$12.05 a second

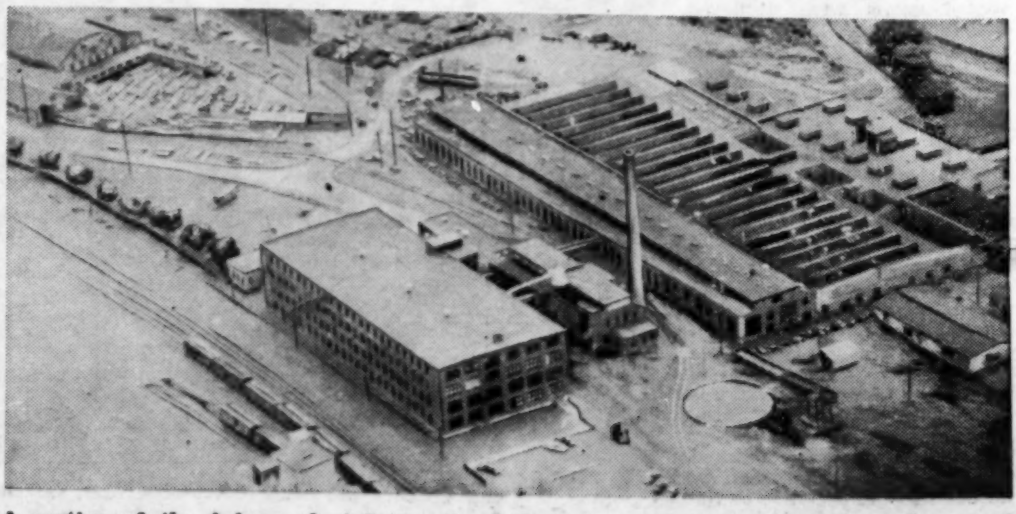
In 1948 International Harvester made net profits after taxes of $55,679,000. This was 191% above 1946 profits, 33% above 1947 profits.

In the first six months of 1949 the company reported net profits after taxes of $37,479,000, which was 31% above the 1948 record.

International Harvester employment was down 9%, sales were up 11%.

The company was coining net profits at the spectacular rate of $12.05 for every second of every work day.

Salted away in a fund to pension off over-age machines was $137,500,000.



A portion of the Auburn plant International Harvester wants to abandon. This photo was taken by amateur union photographers who chartered a small plane to get the shot.

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

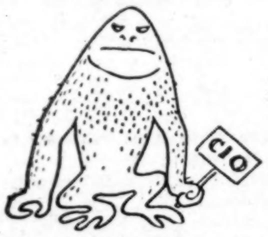
LABOR WEEK

Militants mobilize to save CIO

A BLACK patch covers the right eye of Maurice Travis, secretary of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CIO). His eye was made permanently sightless when he was attacked by members of the raiding United Steel Workers (CIO).

Last week the husky, battered Travis stood on the platform of the big hall in New York's Manhattan Center. Before him were 1,550 left-wing shop stewards, local and district officers of CIO unions. He said: "I don't need sympathy or want it. I've recovered. I'm back on the job and I want to do the job." The question was: What is the job—for Travis and for all CIO?

In May the CIO Executive Board confirmed its orders of last fall. Let every officer of every international conform to CIO politics and policies or get out. If the international or the local will not remove such officers, the union can get out of CIO. If it will not get out, raid it, break it up, terrorize the membership out of it.



For months unions on the executive board's "subversive" list have been raided; officers have been kidnapped, slugged, shot at.

FIGHT TOGETHER: The CIO national convention comes up next month. Before Travis stood up to speak Grant Oakes, president of the Farm Equipment and Metal Workers, said there was "no doubt" that at the convention the "CIO is going to withdraw the charter of our union." He advanced a policy: "Fight it—fight together."

When Travis spoke he said: "There have been enough splits already. A split in CIO would be the greatest catastrophe that could befall the American labor movement. Those who foster it will find their names shrouded in black crepe in the history of the movement." Progressive unions, the meeting decided, would stay in the CIO as long as they could.

NEGROES FIRM: Travis added grim documentation that supplemented the evidence of the black patch over his eye. He spoke of the election in the mines of Alabama during the spring. The Steel Workers were raiding the shops of Mine-Mill.

It was a raid blessed by CIO's Executive Board. Still, it got nowhere until the raiders took to violence. Some men were kidnapped and beaten. Others were bribed. Hooded Klansmen picketed Mine-Mill headquarters. Yet not a single Negro voted for the Steel Workers, Travis said. The raiders cannot find a single Negro in the mills to speak for them. Enough of the white workers were intimidated into voting for the raiders, Travis said, and the raiders won.

Autonomy for what?

That point was stressed again by Ewart Guinier, secretary-treasurer of the United Public Workers of America. He had this story to tell of a talk he had with CIO President Phillip Murray last year:

Sen. John Sparkman (D-Ala.) campaigned on the slogan: "Vote for Sparkman and your sister will never have to work alongside of a Negro." Quoting this example to Murray, Guinier said his union demanded the right to differ with CIO endorsements of congressional candidates — especially jimcrow candidates. Murray said: "The people in Alabama who endorsed Sparkman have local autonomy." But UPW did not have the autonomy to oppose Sparkman, Guinier said.

THE BOMBERS' FRIEND: Guinier told the CIO left-wingers that the man who directed the campaign of Eugene (Bull) Connor, police commissioner of Birmingham, was Carey E. Haigler, Alabama director for CIO's southern drive. Bull Connor recently introduced and pushed to passage Birmingham's law to zone Negroes into a tight ghetto. He also declined protection to two ministers and their families who were bombed because they moved into houses outside the pale.

That same CIO leader, said Guinier, organized by spreading the word that CIO would "do no damage to Southern traditions."

When Guinier, his dark face flushed and angry, sat down, CIO's militants were on their feet and cheering. Their applause forecast a fight for life on the floor of the CIO convention in October.

Spread the word

The enthusiasm at Manhattan Center was important because the men and women there represented no narrow bloc. Though none of the delegates was official they spoke for men and women in 20 unions: United Office and Professional; Farm Equipment; Public Workers; American Communications Association; National Maritime Union; Shoe; Furniture; United Auto; Packinghouse; Mine-Mill; Transport; Marine Cooks and Stewards; Food, Tobacco and Agriculture; Marine and Shipbuilding; Amalgamated Clothing; Newspaper Guild; American Radio Association; United Radio Workers; Gas, Coke and Chemical; American Lithographers.

In many cases they spoke for a majority of their union's membership though in others they represented only a slim minority.

They wrote a resolution (see box, this page) and looked for ways to spread it as a rallying cry throughout CIO.

Resolution on CIO autonomy

"We reject the splitting concept of 'conform or get out!'"

Following is the text of the resolution adopted at the Conference on Antonomy and Democracy in the CIO, Aug. 30, in New York:

AT A crucial time when it is faced by bitter attacks of employers and a growing crisis causing loss of livelihood for millions of American workers, the labor movement finds itself engaged in bitter internal strife. The recent edict of the majority of the CIO Executive Board that would deprive international unions of representation and jurisdiction unless they sacrifice their autonomous rights, can only have the effect of further inflaming division and strife within the labor movement, and thereby play into the hands of the employers.

The trends within the national CIO toward the destruction of autonomous rights have already resulted in physical violence against so-called dissidents, in suicidal raiding of one CIO union by another, in the use of CIO funds and official machinery to embarrass and harass CIO unions whose only "crime" is that their leaders carry out the democratically-arrived-at policies of their own membership. Mass expulsion of unions is threatened by top CIO leaders under the slogan of "conform or get out."

This Conference urges Philip Murray to return the CIO to its founding principles of autonomy and democracy. It was in pursuance of these policies that CIO remained united, grew strong and gave such effective leadership to American workers.

WE RECALL to President Murray his own words addressed to the Automobile Workers' Convention in 1947, when he said: "We never determine the course of action of our affiliates . . . they were sovereign, autonomous unions, and in matters of great moment we got together and we considered and advised each other, but in the end we left the ultimate decision to each of the International Unions for important policy decisions. There is a reason for that. I hope the day never comes in the history of the CIO when it shall take upon itself the power to dictate or to rule or to provide by policy methods of dictation and ruling that run counter to the very principles of true democracy."

The dues-paying membership of CIO unions, confronted today with growing unemployment, part-timing, speed-up, discrimination, the evil devices of the Taft-Hartley law, police brutality on picket lines, injunctions and all the rest of the weapons in the anti-labor arsenal, demand a united labor movement based upon democracy, equal rights, solidarity, freedom of discussion, freedom of criticism and respect for autonomy and jurisdiction. For many years the CIO was that kind of labor movement. We want to keep it that way.

WE CIO officers, local executive board members and shop stewards, in Conference assembled, express our firm resolve to struggle for that unity. We reject the splitting concept of "conform or get out!" We condemn any attempts to further divide the labor movement by policies of interference with the internal problems of international unions by the national CIO, or by the use of CIO funds and machinery to harass affiliates of the CIO, or any policy of expulsion or dissolving of unions and their jurisdiction. We express without qualification our resolve to fight to remain within the CIO and to exert all our influence to return the CIO to its founding principles of democracy and autonomy. We express support to all unions in the CIO against attempts to deny them representation or to interfere with their jurisdiction.

Therefore, be it Resolved, that this Conference call upon the New York State Convention and the National Convention of the CIO to re-affirm the founding principles of the CIO and to reject the "conform or get out" edict. We urge all leaders of CIO unions to view the extreme danger of the course that is being charted by the "conform or get out" edict, and recognizing that danger to help reverse this policy. Let us build t at democratic unity within CIO necessary to win a better standard of living and security of employment for all American workers in the epic struggles that lie ahead.

Wanted: Peace

AMERICAN Labor, on Labor Day, "wants something more than the slick, kind words of men whose knives have been at labor's back all year." Thus spoke Sam Curry, president of the big Chicago Armour local of the CIO Packinghouse Workers, in issuing a call for 1,500 union delegates to converge on Chicago Oct. 1-2 for a National Labor Conference for Peace.

Workers want jobs, security and homes, Curry said, but see these aims being eaten up by a "cold war policy to finance world murder." The Chicago conference is to emphasize that peaceful settlements of outstanding international differences mean jobs and security for labor.

STEELWORKERS

The facts are in

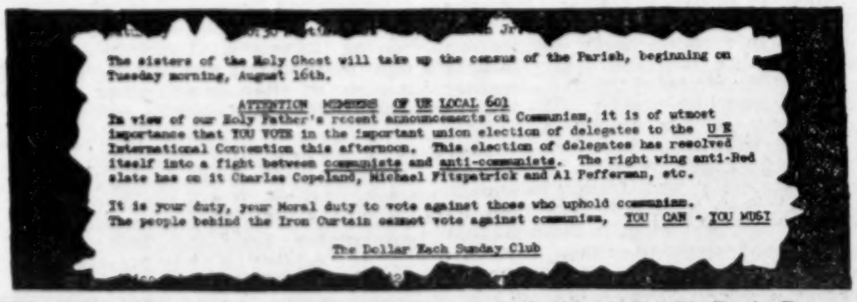
THE facts found run to 750,000 words. Now the fact-finders are mulling them over, to see what can be recommended to settle the dispute between the CIO United Steelworkers and 31 corporations. Their advice will be in President Truman's hands by Sept. 10; the union has a strike deadline Sept. 14.

During 17 days of testimony chairman Carroll R. Daugherty, Samuel Rosenman and David L. Cole heard five union witnesses and 64 for the manufacturers contend on the union's demand for a package increase of 30c an hour.

The union said profits allow higher wages; the nation will benefit in increased purchasing power; steel workers now get less than other workers. The companies replied that the union exaggerated profits and ignored investment problems.

On the union's demand for employer-paid pensions and health insurance, the industry doesn't want to bargain on pensions and says workers must share insurance costs.

(Continued on following page)


The sisters of the Holy Ghost will take up the census of the Parish, beginning on Tuesday morning, August 16th.

ATTENTION MEMBERS OF UE LOCAL 601

In view of our Holy Father's recent announcements on Communism, it is of utmost importance that YOU VOTE in the important union election of delegates to the U E International Convention this afternoon. This election of delegates has resolved itself into a fight between communists and anti-communists. The right wing anti-Red slate has on it Charles Copeland, Michael Fitzpatrick and Al Pefferman, etc.

It is your duty, your Moral duty to vote against those who uphold communism. The people behind the Iron Curtain cannot vote against communism, YOU CAN - YOU MUST

The Dollar Each Sunday Club

This notice appeared in the Sunday Church Bulletin of the St. Regis Roman Catholic Church of Trafford, Pa., on the morning of the election in United Electrical Workers Local 601. Above and below the item appeared notices of banns, church affairs, etc. The election was between the progressives and the ACTU-dominated leadership of the local. The progressives lost.

(Continued from preceding page)

SINGER STRIKE

All together

ALL labor—CIO, AFL, Railway Brotherhoods and Independents, top officials and rank-and-file—came together and stood firm.

It happened last week in the Elks Hall of Elizabeth, N. J. The 496 unionists had gathered as delegates to the New Jersey State Conference of Labor to Support the Singer Strikers.

They represented more than 75 union locals, councils and district offices.

They came to support the 16-week-old strike of the United Electrical and Radio Workers (CIO) against the Singer Sewing Machine Co. Key issues are a murderous speed-up and job insecurity. The conference planned a 5-point program:

- Send a delegation to Gov. Driscoll urging him to bring the Singer Co. to a conference table.
- Ask all labor to boycott Singer.
- Picket the Elizabeth plant at 8 a.m. Tuesday, Sept. 13.

JAMES and DON NEWCOMBE
Strike and strike out

- Raise $1 from every union member in N.J. for the strikers.

Robert Brennan, president of the striking Local 401, said: "I hope the unity built around our strike will not end with this strike."

The unity note had a special appeal for Dodger fans since James Newcombe of the Singer picket line is the father of Don Newcombe, Brooklyn's sensational Negro pitcher.

RUBBER WORKERS

Goodrich brass

THEIR first week of strike past, 17,500 Goodrich Rubber workers in seven plants were still gasping at the brazen counter-proposals made by the company. Goodrich rejected the CIO United Rubber Workers' demands for a 25c wage boost, pensions and health insurance. All Goodrich wanted was a no-strike guarantee making the union financially liable for acts committed even by non-union workers, and the right to take grievances against the union to arbitration with the union sharing the costs.

The workers were out solid in Akron; Clarksville, Tenn.; Cadillac, Mich.; Los Angeles; Miami, Okla.; Oaks, Pa.; and Tuscaloosa, Ala.

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Homeless princess

RETURNING to New York after a visit to Italy, U.S.-born Princess Eugenia Ruspoli informed the press that she had to stay at a hotel because she could not get into her 85-room Castle of Nemi, 20 miles from Rome. Homeless squatters, she re•ed, had taken possession during her absence and refused to move out. She says she is filing a $1,200,000 suit for "looting and damage."

Washington special

Vaughan the clown can't joke away the stench of the facts

By John B. Stone

WASHINGTON

THIS wasn't the same man of white-hot righteous indignation who on July 6 screamed to reporters at Washington's Union Station: "It's nobody's god damn business and you can quote me."

This was a shifty-eyed clown, a lifelong fixer, with whom the fates had caught up. His head scratchings, his desperate attempts at funny answers, his monotonously-repeated attempts to talk himself out of tight spots without accusing others of perjury—everything revealed a fumbling mind, wanting to remain everybody's friend but still fiercely hanging on to the good thing that had come his way with the elevation of Harry S. Truman to the Presidency of the United States.

Yes, it was Maj. Gen. Harry S. Vaughan, U.S. Army Reserve, military aide to the President, coordinator of veterans' affairs and self-admitted administrative assistant to the chief executive of the world's most powerful country. Both times it was General Vaughan.

NOSE-PUNCHING DAYS: Yet the Gen. Vaughan of the Union Station had been a man conscious of his own bigness. At that time—early in July when the scandal of the five percenter racket was just breaking—he and 12 members of his family and close friends were returning from a multi-thousand-dollar vacation in Central America. He was feeling his oats. Having been warned in New York, he had changed cars in a Pennsylvania train and deserted, for a few moments, his uniform with its many (including one Argentine) medals.

A mind great enough to think up that dodge had a right to lose its temper when the photographers spotted its owner. And Gen. Vaughan did just that. "How would you like a punch in the nose?" he yelled at the first photographer to catch him.

"That," suggested the photographer, "might be a mistake—for you, general."

Then, despite the absence of his military medals, Vaughan swelled out his chest and thundered: "After all, I am the President's military aide. You guys might want a favor some day."

STINK: No, this pudgy man, seated between two pudgy colonels in the jammed tiny hearing room, was a different General Vaughan.

But alibi himself as he might, the relentless questions developed a sorry picture.

It wasn't the two or three or five thousand dollar bribes, in the form of Truman campaign contributions, extorted from businessmen because of the government contacts Vaughan made for them. It wasn't the admission that anybody with "a White House pass from Vaughan" could break any rules.

It wasn't even the picture of racketeering friends of Vaughan getting tons of scarce building materials while millions of veterans and other Americans could find no homes.

It was the sickening turnback of the clock of political corruption to the days and the smells of the Harding administration. It was the inescapable conclusion that the men staffing our government, from the White House out, are subject to petty favor-getters whose one thought is to fix things for friends, while the friends grind out billions in profits and grind sharper and more deadly the weapons of war.

THE ECONOMY

MOSCOW LIKES SLUMP AND SO DO WE. . . . Layoffs are painful, but they do induce those who are still on the job to work harder. The boom-and-bust cycle seems to be a basic principle of nature. . . . Recessions and depressions are unpleasant. No one likes to see stock prices going down, business cutting dividends and losing money, or, worst of all, working people losing jobs. But there are times when recessions are needed. A healthy man can lose the power to walk if he stays in bed long enough.

Barron's financial weekly

Truman plugs holes with incantations

THE Truman Administration radiated optimism about the economic outlook. Labor Secretary Tobin promised a million new jobs before Christmas. Commerce Secretary Sawyer voiced "an abiding faith in the soundness of our business economy." The President's Council of Economic Advisers predicted privately that the "business trend is to be sidewise for a time, then upward."

Business journals reflected a new spirit of confidence. This was based on an upturn in steel production, increased buying for inventories in textiles and soft goods generally, a rise in bank loans which had been declining steadily for about five months, a slight fall in new claims for unemployment insurance, and other minor indications of a pickup in employment and industrial production.

STILL SIX MILLION: These are temporary factors resulting in part from increased federal spending at the start of the fiscal year (mainly on the cold war) and the anticipation of a steel strike. Economic crises always display an uneven rate of decline. Industrial production has dropped 20% from November to July—one of the sharpest rates of decline in U.S. history; close to 6,000,000 are still unemployed.

The Truman Administration was continuing its do-nothing policy. No action was being taken or considered to find jobs for the unemployed.

CONFERENCE ON JOBS

Progressive view

C. B. BALDWIN, secretary of the Progressive Party, last week viewed the business "upturn" this way: "The flood of rosy predictions about the economic situation we have been reading in the press over the past few weeks hides the simple fact that Congress and the Truman Administration are doing nothing about the unemployed."

He made his statement in connection with plans for the National Conference on Jobs and the Economic Crisis, scheduled for Sept. 17 and 18 in Cleveland. Fred Stover, president of the Iowa Farmers Union, and William Smith, vice-president of the Farm Equipment Workers Union (CIO), agreed last week to serve as co-chairmen.

SEATTLE—The Progressive Party of Washington issued a call for a Peace and Jobs Conference on Sept. 11, "to turn the attention of those who are charged with providing for the common welfare from producing for war with its accompanying unemployment and growing depression, to produce for peace."

The Spiri

One of the first things Harry Truman did was to pin a star on the shoulder of Co has looked after his boy ever since. Seen on their fr

WASHINGTON

Senators dream of home & compromises

THE Senate floundered last week in a crazy-quilt search for compromises and ways to go home. Having vainly opposed a House vacation, senators finally voted themselves one, from Aug. 31 to Sept. 7. (The House took what amounts to a 26-day leave.)

MILD EMASCULATION: By weekend the Senate had set up a conference battle with the House on the minimum-wage bill. The House had voted to exclude 1,000,000 workers from benefits; the Senate bill, approved by voice vote, would exempt 200,000. Both bills would increase the 40c minimum to 75c an hour.

Even while advocating a milder emasculation, the Senate defeated a battery of amendments aimed at undercutting wage-hour protection still further. The battle of the emasculators now moves to the conference chambers.

'Too many farm plans'

"TOO many farm plans," complained Senate Agriculture Chairman Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma. President Truman agreed, and called his political farmhands together to spade up a compromise. Result was a bill introduced by Sen. Clinton P. Andersan of New Mexico, former Agriculture Secretary, providing for "flexible" price supports on "non-basic" crops and rigid, near-parity payments on corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, rice and peanuts.

This pleased those who want to move toward the controversial Brannan Plan, which might benefit consumers too. The House and Senate must get together to avert disruption of price supports Jan. 1.

Bipartisan 'breach'

HOW wide is a breach? Senate Democrats and Republicans last week

faced what the New York **Times** called a "wide breach" on the billion-dollar arms program for Atlantic Pact countries. It was quickly closed by Democratic agreement to cut out $160,990,000—about 1% of the total—and spread the payments.

Domestic military costs gave the breach-hoppers no trouble. They trimmed a minor $500,000,000 from the $15,000,000,000 defense budget.

Trade trouble

PRESIDENT TRUMAN was "nice about it," conferees said, but in-

pirit of '49

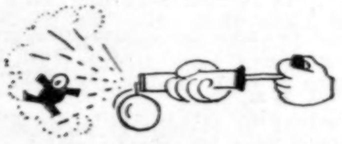
did after he became President in April, 1945, Col. Harry (Pug) Vaughan. The President seems it's impossible to put the deep freeze r friendship.

sisted that Congress enact a new reciprocal trade act this session. He was afraid that a retreat to January would make an even worse tangle. There is strong opposition from Democrats and Republicans to the tariff-cutting program originated by the New Deal.

THE 5 PER CENTERS

Harry's for Harry

HARRY VAUGHAN'S boss at the White House plans no changes on his military staff. President Truman said so after Gen. Vaughan, his military aide, had spent two days before the Senate Investigating subcommittee.



Uneasy but defiant, Vaughan had admitted many negotiations with people seeking favors—including John Maragon, the contact man, whom Vaughan characterized as "lovable" but in need of "fumigation." (Maragon called the remarks "a great compliment.") All dealings were in innocent friendliness, Vaughan insisted.

FREEZERS NOT ALL: Senators wondered, and questioned. Besides deep freezers, Vaughan's dealings also implied connections with four-figure contributions to the Democratic Party campaign and a parole for a liquor black-marketeer. Vaughan denied there was any connection.

Col. Cornelius J. Mara, Vaughan's assistant, told the senators any business man could walk into the White House and ask for help "if he had a just cause."

William P. Rogers, committee counsel, asked him: "Is it not a fact that the reason you talked to these people is because John Maragon was with them?"

"Probably, yes," said Mara.

Bigger potatoes?

FOUR members of the Senate Armed Services Committee are worrying about an "influence" problem which could bring in a crop of potatoes far bigger than the five percenters. Their particular problem is Carl A. Ilgenfritz, vice-president of the U.S. Steel Corp., who has been nominated to be chairman of the Munitions Board.

The senators, faced with deciding whether to oppose confirmation, have these facts: U.S. Steel said the Defense Department could have Ilgenfritz if it would let the corporation continue to pay his $70,000-a-year salary. Secretary Louis Johnson approved, provided Ilgenfritz didn't handle any U.S. Steel matters. Several agencies reported "no legal objections." If there is objection, the Administration fears its source of business executives may dry up.

PRESS CONFERENCE

Surrender

ON THURSDAY newsmen at the President's weekly press conference recalled an anniversary. Ten years before Germany had launched its blitz against Poland and started World War II.

The President said he hoped the present war of nerves would also end in surrender. In vain newsmen pressed him. What war? Whose surrender? What he said was clear, he replied testily. He said he hoped everybody would get into a mood for world peace and then it would just take a short time to get everything worked out as it should be.

It was a simple, weary statement, but since it came from a President and not a simple, weary citizen, State Department officials thought it perhaps too simple. At the week-end they were busy explaining to foreign diplomats.

POLITICS

NEW YORK

ALP clubs for Marc

IN New York faithful workers were called to their canvassing posts, statements and counter-statements flowed from the mimeograph machines, courts were busy ruling on challenges of nominating petitions. Primary day is Sept. 6.

Progressives centered their attention on the American Labor Party rift caused by the fight of veteran City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly for the Manhattan Borough President nomination against Ewart G. Guinier, Negro labor leader who carries the flag of Vito Marcantonio's forces. Twenty-six district ALP leaders, representing every Manhattan club, issued a call to ALP voters to defeat Connolly, accused him of trying to split the party and "treading the path of Mike Quill." (Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, CIO, deserted the left-wing.) Connolly continued to assert he was only trying to keep the ALP democratic, accusing Marcantonio of dictating party policies.

DULLES IS CALM: Former Gov. Herbert H. Lehman ended long suspense within the Democratic Party when he announced his candidacy for the U.S. Senate. The vacancy is caused by the retirement of Robert F. Wagner. Lehman also accepted the designation of the Liberal Party, which made a few Democrats uncomfortable because the Liberals are supporting Fusion-Republican candidate Newbold Morris for Mayor.

John Foster Dulles, who temporarily holds a Senate seat, said Lehman's entry didn't scare him.

THE NATION

Pink professors

THE issue of academic freedom last week threatened to split the National Student Assn. right down the middle. The association's congress is in session at Urbana, Ill.

Delegate Alfred Jollon of St. John's U., Brooklyn, said that pro-Communist professors are "criminals" and should be "treated as such." Criminals, he added, have no rights and "red professors shouldn't have the right to teach the nation's youth."

Alexander Pope, a 20-year old Chicago University law student, replied that "a professor should be fired for only two reasons—if he is incompetent to teach his particular subject or if he has committed a felony."

The NSA voted to continue non-political cooperation with the International Union of Students (headquarters in Prague), defeating a Catholic drive for a complete break. But a strong stand against discrimination in fraternities was watered down.

At the week-end, the 900 delegates representing 1,000,000 students in 350 colleges and universities were still trying to resolve issues created by their elders.

A Peekskill in Ohio?

Press smears a labor picnic and raises the FBI bogey

"THIS Sunday," the cheerful postcard said, "Aug. 28 . . . the Picnic of the Year. Progressive Labor Picnic, Klee Picnic Grounds, West Bellaire, Ohio. . . . Good speakers. . . . Dancing to Frank Kosem and his Ohio Valley Polkateers. . . . Refreshments. . . . Games. . . . Children Free. . . . Rain or Shine. . . . Bring the Family."

It sounded like a nice party. The kids were suffering from a little late-summer boredom and the picnic would be a fine pickup for mother too. But the Wheeling (W. Va.) **News-Register** didn't see it that way.

HOW RED IS MY VALLEY: On Sunday, Aug. 28, over a column by Harry Hamm ("To Put It Briefly") it carried this headline: VALLEY COMMUNISTS PLAN BIG MEET TODAY. The story said:

"Communist activity is reported buzzing in the Ohio Valley. In fact hundreds of Commies from throughout the valley and the tri-state district are scheduled to turn out today for a big meeting and picnic near Bellaire. While no information can be learned on the meeting, it is reported that the FBI is aware of the gathering."

George F. Curry, a charter GUARDIAN rooter, sent us the card (he had been invited) and the newspaper clip. In a note he said: "One may well wonder if the reference to the FBI was intended to frighten some persons from the gathering." One may indeed wonder, especially since Mr. Hamm admitted he knew nothing about the meeting.

WHO CALLS WHOM WHAT? "One may also wonder," continued George Curry, "if the FBI is 'aware of the gathering' of a fascist organization known as the American Legion in Philadelphia this week, and if so what, if anything, they are doing about it.

"I'd suggest that there will probably be 'gatherings' of Republicans and Democrats in the not-too-distant future. Will the FBI be on hand at those gatherings to see if they advocate any activities which the House Un-American Activities Committee might dub 'un-American'? It seems to depend largely on who defines what is—and what is not—un-American."

And when you fit together the labor picnic and Mr. Hamm's red smear-and-scare spewings, one doesn't have to wonder what makes a Peekskill.

THE BARSOV CASE

No place like home

LAST October two Soviet flyers crash-landed their Russian bomber at a U.S. airbase, stepped out and announced their readiness to fight for America. Last week one of them, Lieut. Anatoli P. Barsov, was on his way home again, after a cloak and dagger kidnapping by U.S. federal agents in Washington's fashionable and appropriately titled Aux Trois Mousquetaires (Three Musketeers) restaurant.

Barsov had tired of his role as feted political refugee. He reported to the Soviet Embassy Aug. 17, then disappeared. A waitress at the restaurant described what happened. About 6 p.m.

ANATOLI P. BARSOV
Was our freedom so free?

a dozen men in civilian clothes took seats in front booths. Piotr Pirogov, the other Soviet flyer, sat by himself, was soon joined by Barsov. At that moment the agents descended, whisked the two men away. Moments later, according to other sources, Russian agents who had been tailing Barsov burst into the restaurant.

LITERARY MAN: After an exchange of notes between the State Department and the Soviet Embassy, Barsov was taken to Vienna, turned over to Soviet officials there. Pirogov was holding out; under FBI protection or surveillance, he was busy on an anti-Soviet book out of which he expected to make $1,000,000.

Last week he had scorn for Barsov: "Within six months he will die like a dog," he told reporters in New York City. In Austria, U.S. army officials berated the State Department for acting "too hastily" in letting Barsov go home.

THE LEGION CONVENTION

Coconuts!

IN front of a hotel in downtown Philadelphia an aging veteran of World War I concealed a "buzz-button" in his hand. He "buzzed" a few passing girls before an American Legion Convention official took his toy away.

In the usual Legion parade, entitled "Pageant of the Spirit of America," Florida beauties, posing on a float, threw 10,000 Florida coconuts at the spectators. On the whole, though, Philadelphia weathered the four-day convention well.

Legionnaires heard Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson defend his stand on unification of the armed services; heard President Truman make vague but friendly gestures toward the British diplomats en route to Washington to discuss the British crisis.

HEREBY RESOLVE: The convention passed resolutions urging the U.S. to: help anyone in the Far East who might "fight communism"; "curtail as far as possible any further immigration," "outlaw the Communist Party," revive the "old American virtues of hard work, thrift and self-reliance as an antidote against socialism and communism in the United States."

The Missouri Delegation took action on its own. In a telegram to the President the delegation expressed "utmost confidence in their fellow delegate and Legionnaire Maj. Gen. Vaughan. His personal integrity and veracity is unassailable."

On Thursday before winding up, the Legionnaires elected George N. Craig of Brazil, Ind., to the post of National Commander, succeeding Perry Brown of Texas. He is 40 years old and the first veteran of World War II to get to the top of the Legion. But Legion insiders knew that Craig had been given excellent schooling by the veteran politicians of World War I.

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CIVIL LIBERTIES

COMMUNIST TRIAL

The last chapter

TRIAL of the top leaders of the U. S. Communist Party has lasted eight months. Last week defense attorney Harry Sacher, making a renewed demand for the release of three defendants jailed for the duration of the trial, hinted it may end soon. "We are approaching the end of the trial," Sacher said, "and there remain just a matter of days in which. . . ."

"Your motion is denied," Judge Harold Medina interrupted.

Earlier in the week formation of a National Non-Partisan Committee to Defend the Rights of the 12 Communist Leaders was announced. Co-chairmen are Paul Robeson and Judge Norval K. Harris of Sullivan, Ind. Treasurer is novelist Howard Fast. Founding members are 141 writers, educators, clergymen, attorneys, labor leaders and political figures in 30 states and the District of Columbia. Calling the trial "treason to the First Amendment," the committee said Americans owed it to themselves "to oppose this attempt to try in a court of law a political philosophy, judgment on which can properly be passed only by the electorate."

During the week Judge Medina indicated that the written testimony of William Z. Foster, indicted chairman of the Communist Party who was too ill to appear with his co-defendants, will be read to the jury soon. It consists of answers to more than 400 questions.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS
A pound . . . or a pound of flesh

THE WORLD

ANGLO-AMERICAN CRISIS

Cripps, Bevin come for critical talks

BRITISH Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps set sail last week on what the former described as "one of the most important missions in history." They were off for the Washington financial conference, opening Sept. 7, which will attempt to solve the problem of Britain's dollar shortage

Along with Bevin and Cripps came Maberly Dening, Far East expert of the Foreign Office. Dening carried a British trump. If the U.S. got tough, Britain might point out that her troops manned the thin defense lines of Malaya, and if that line were to give, the Malayan people might come into their own and constitute still another communist "threat." In Hong Kong British traders made gestures toward doing business with China. Friendly trade sounded like treason to the U.S. cold warriors. Britain holds other strategic positions around the world, and she herself is an indispensable ally for U.S. imperial ambitions. Knowing that U.S. needs her gives Britain the power to bargain for what she wants.

BRITAIN WANTS: Unofficially, British sources let it be known that they would make no major request for U.S. dollar aid at this time. They were reported asking: a permanent U.S.-U.K. council to work out long-range currency and trade problems; a larger share of Marshall Plan funds and more freedom in spending them; reductions in U.S. tariffs and less customs red tape; the right to discriminate against U.S. imports.

U.S. WANTS: Authoritative reports suggested that the U.S. would offer to buy more British-controlled jute, tin and rubber for its war stockpiles, make some minor modifications in tariffs, perhaps support World Bank loans for the colonies. U.S. and Britain know that none of these will work a cure.

U.S. objective is to set up conditions for profitable U.S. investment in the Empire, and to capture British markets. Devaluation of the pound, enabling U.S. big business to buy into British enterprises at bargain basement prices, is a necessary first step.

Devaluation would sharply cut British living standards. But Washington, Wall Street and London's City had no objection to that.

A healthy insecurity

Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the London **Economist**, declared in an interview with **U.S. News**: "I'm not advocating a recurrence of the mass unemployment that we had in the 1930s. But unless a man has a certain healthy apprehension of losing his job, you can't expect him to work as well as he might do."

The Labor government itself has pushed a program which calls for the speedup and wage freeze in an effort to step up British production, lower costs, and increase British exports to the dollar area.

LEADER VS. LABOR: A special economic report, issued by the Trades Union Congress on the eve of its annual conference this week at Bridlington, Yorkshire, told workers that economic recovery depends on harder work with no wage increases. Price cuts and legislation to control profits are impractical, the TUC statement said. This, despite the fact that the real wages of British workers are declining while profits are rising steadily.

The truth is that Britain cannot solve its economic problems within the framework of the cold war. Huge military expenditures and the refusal to develop large-scale trade with the socialist world deprives the Labor government of any alternative to more American domination and the solution of the crisis at the expense of living standards. On that last necessity the governments of both Britain and the U.S. and the labor leaders of the Trades Union Council seem agreed.

And in England a lot of people were ruefully .recalling this old Cockney lament:

Its the syme the whole world over,
It's the poor what gets the blyme,
While the rich has all the clover,
Ain't it all a bloomin' shyme.

Szpilki, Warsaw
The dollar and the pound.

CHINA

Manchuria—new socialist republic

MANCHURIA is rich. Its grain fields yield more than those of Normandy or Bavaria or Iowa. By the year's end it will have produced 10,000,000 tons of coal. (Entire U.S. produces about 60,000,000 tons a year.)

Other mines in Manchuria produce ocpper, lead, zinc, aluminum, molybdenum, vanadium and gold. More than 100,000 lumbermen work in Manchuria's vast forests. In its cities factories turn out cement, paper, rubber goods, chinaware, drugs, dyes, dynamite, fertilizers.

PEOPLE'S WEALTH: For centuries

(Continued on following page)

Chicago dateline

Negro homes still terrorized; 8,000 demand that Mayor act

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

ANTI-NEGRO violence continued in the Park Manor community here last week, more than a month after a rioting mob tried to burn Mr. and Mrs. Roscoe Johnson out of their newly-bought home. The Johnsons were still receiving anonymous telephone threats, although their unlisted number has been changed twice. Mrs. Johnson answered four or five calls late at night during the Aug. 27 weekend.

The Johnsons' tenants, Mr. and Mrs. B. Cooke, moved into their first floor apartment on Aug. 25 without incident. But in less than 24 hours they too had received a threatening call, although their number is also unlisted.

The phone company linesman who installed the Johnson and Cooke phones lives in the Park Manor neighborhood.

BOTTLED TERROR: Only a few blocks from the Johnsons, on Vernon Av., live Mr. and Mrs. Alvert Carter and their 13-year-old daughter. Mr. Carter is a Negro veteran of World War I. Late one night two weeks ago the Carter garage was fired. The same night they found an oil-filled bottle in front of their home. Similar bottles were tossed at the homes of Mrs. Eugenia Smith, Mrs. Gertrude Webb and Mr. and Mrs. Norton. "BB" shot smashed the front windows of the home of Mr. and Mrs. Hollowell. They all live on Vernon Av.

For the Carters, who arrived in the area in May, this was the third arson attempt. They had asked for police protection after the first two. After the third they finally got it. The Hollowells, Smiths, Nortons and Mrs. Webb are not as lucky. They share the services of a police detail which patrols an area of several blocks—and so far has been absent when the terrorists have appeared.

Mrs. Carter told me that the few Negro families on Vernon Av. also had a taste of the terror experienced by the Johnsons back in July. When police barricades were thrown around the Johnsons' block the night after the attempt to burn them out, the terrorists moved to the nearby Vernon Av. area. They stood in front of the Carter and other Negro homes shouting threats late into the night. No arrests were made.

PLAN FOR DECENCY: More than 2,000 people attended a meeting called by the Civil Rights Congress Aug. 27. They demanded that Mayor Kennelly investigate and punish those responsible for all outbreaks; dismiss all police officers found guilty of racial bias; end the policy of suppressing information about racial outbreaks and undertake a full-scale educational program to combat prejudice; a public declaration that full and continuing police protection will be provided wherever minority groups choose to live; and an ordinance to outlaw discrimination in all housing.

More than 8,000 signatures have been obtained on petitions containing the demands.

Father Clarence Parker, chairman of the Illinois CRC, addresses the rally demanding an end to terrorism against Chicago's Negroes.

(Continued from preceding page)

the nation's wealth lay fallow under the rule of Manchu emperors. In 1931 the Japanese made Manchuria their first conquest.

Last week the whole vast country (404,000 square miles) with its 43,000,000 people became an autonomous socialist republic. To the ancient city of Mukden came 300 delegates from all parts of Manchuria. They established the "People's Goverment for the Northwest." They elected 41 of their number to run the government and chose Kao Kang, secretary of the Chinese Communist Northeast Bureau, as their chief executive.

When a government for all China is established, Manchuria will be one of many autonomous states within a federation. Right now it is distinguished by several factors. Geographically it lies on the Siberian border. Economically it can spark the industrialization of China. Politically it has a treaty with Russia dealing with joint economic development. The treaty was made with Chiang. The Communists, not bound by China's other agreements, willingly go along with this one.

MA RETIRES: Across North China the Moslem armies of two generals named Ma steadily retired, carrying with them the hope of U.S. interventionists. Generals Ma Pu-fang and Ma Hung-Kwei were two allies left to receive U.S. support. A third is the nomadic Mongolian chief Osman Bator, whose primitive tribesmen pitch their tents where they can at best carry on a harrying activity. Communist soldiers penetrating Moslem areas were briefed on customs of the land: don't eat pork or talk to women.

ACTIVE RETIREMENT: In the south Acting President Li Tsung-jen found he could not act because retired President Chiang Kai-shek would give him neither money nor arms. Both looked to the ultimate refuge of Formosa island.

Daily Worker, London

"If we're not careful, the whole of China'll be occupied by the Chinese."

Formosa

Chiang has already shipped large stocks of gold and weapons to Formosa. Troops, as fast as they retreat, are being sent to garrison it. The U.S. has sent military and naval "instructors" to help out. U.S. airports, well manned, have sprung up all over. In short, Formosa seems slated for the thankless but gallant role of a "Far Eastern Hawaii."

Economically it is prepared. Reynolds Metals Co. has bought complete control over Formosa's aluminum industry. (Reynolds paid $34,000,000.). U.S. aircraft factories have been set up on the island and will find the aluminum handy. Westinghouse owns most of the 34 power plants on the island. The National Fertilizer Association has monopolized Formosa's manufacture of soda, most of which goes to Japan. General American Transportation Corp. controls the cement industry and supplies cement for U.S. military bases in the Pacific. Sugar fields have been taken over by U.S. capital, and large acreage has been given over to it, though Formosans are short of rice and other cereals.

Politically, Formosa seems also to be prepared for the worst. The N.Y. *Times*' Tillman Durdin reported that, while Generalissimo Chiang "lives and works on beautiful tree-cloaked Mount Tsao," and most of the demoralized mainland troops "engage in robberies and depredations," 5,000 secret servicemen are policing political opinions and activities of the populace. Formosans disagreeing with Chiang "have disappeared without trace."

A Guardian Angel?

Looks like one, doesn't it? It's a Cupid in a Miami pool whose head has provided a precarious refuge to a scared 'possum during the Florida hurricane.

YUGOSLAVIA

New note, new bid

TWO facts were clear last week in the Yugoslav-Cominform story.

- A new note was delivered to Belgrade by the Soviet government, taking sharp issue with Yugoslav views on the future of Slovene Carinthia (now Austrian) and strongly repeating earlier Russian charges against Marshall Tito's government.
- Washington announced that Yugoslavia had applied for a $25,000,000 Export-Import Bank loan to develop its mining industries.

Beyond these facts, there was the usual flood of unfactual speculation.

FINLAND

'Reds' still on strike

"STRIKE in Finland continues to grow," (N.Y. **Times**, August 29). "Finnish strike collapses," (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, August 31). ". . . Metal workers prepared for new strike actions," (**Times**, August 31).

These facts seemed clear: At the weekend, loggers, dockers, shipyard, construction, brewery and metal workers were still out on strike. Most industries were at a standstill. Finland was under military rule.

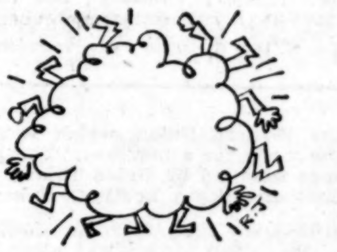
Social Democratic Premier Karl Fagerholm had charged the strikers with attempting a communist coup. U.S. papers at first said the strikes presaged a Russian break-through. Finnish strikers last week canceled a demonstration to make way for a parade of the Finnish Salvation Army.

BOLIVIA

Clarifying a putsch

BOLIVIAN rebels stormed into Yacuiba, Sucre, Santa Cruz and Potosi. Government forces regained Cochabamba.

To U. S. newspaper readers the facts were as obscure, the reporting as fanciful as the Latin names. On Saturday the United Press reported from La Paz: "Bolivian Communists and Fascists joined forces today in a military revolt. . . ."



On Monday UP had "Joe Antonio Arze, of the (extreme left wing) Left Revolutionary Party declaring that he could 'support the present defense of the regime.'"

On Tuesday UP said the Left Revolutionary Party had "stood aloof throughout."

ON THE RIGHT, ALL RIGHT: The rebels were clearly members of the rightist National Revolutionary Movement. Last May the tin miners of Bolivia struck against savage conditions of labor. They fought troops with dynamite. NRM leaders in the present putsch took advantage of their plight and tried to rally them by calling for nationalization of the mines.

The present regime came to power in 1946 after former President Gualberto Villaroel was lynched. President Enrique Hertzog is on an indefinite leave of absence in a hospital in the country. When last heard publicly he was declaiming confusingly against "communism of the right." Serving in his place is Acting President Mamerto Urriolagoittia.

WAR IN GREECE

Premature mop-up

FOR days the Athens communiques and U.S. press administered one defeat after another to the Greek guerrillas. In the claims and articles the Grammos "trap" got smaller and smaller, the number of surviving guerrillas fewer.

On Aug. 31 a United Press dispatch said it had "begun to appear" that the claims were "over-optimistic." (The story appeared in early New York **Herald Tribune** editions Sept. 1, disappeared in later editions.)

The facts, as now admitted, put the number of guerrillas who escaped the Athens forces at more than 5,000 out of 8,000 originally engaged. Many fought their way out into Central Greece, from where they were said to have been mopped sometime ago. Others crossed into Albania and Bulgaria. Belgrade said 700 had entered Yugoslavia.

The highly advertised "mop-up" of the guerrillas appears to have flopped this year as in previous years.

WHAT MAKES NEWS?

Fish bites man

THE fish were biting good in at least two parts of the country.

Attorney J. C. Waller and Dr. R. J. Harris were leading their fox dogs through a shallow creek near Sullivan, Mo. One of the dogs yelped and went down. A 16-pound, 31-inch catfish had bit him. The two hunters kicked the fish ashore and tied it to a tree with a dog-leash.

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Director W. P. Whitley of the City-County Bureau of Investigation in a North Carolina town was gigging for flounders during his vacation. One flounder jumped off a line, bit two gashes in the cop's heel.

(Continued on following page)

Max Werner

The Strasbourg Europe: Unity fashioned with clay hands

IN STRASBOURG the "European Consultative Assembly" which ends its deliberations this week has organized nothing. The "Strasbourg Europe" is a fiction. In these hands and in this shape no unification of Europe will work. Our diplomacy overlooks the brutal fact that Western Europe, split from Eastern Europe, is in its turn split from within and divided against itself.

"Strasbourg Europe," which does not include the industrial power of Central and the food and raw material resources of Eastern Europe, is a pyramid without a base. Two years ago Raul Ramadier, then Premier of France, said the real Europe stretches from England to the Urals. "Strasbourg Europe" hardly reaches the Rhine. Since German-French cooperation is unlikely so long as French nationalist Queuille and German nationalist Adenauer represent their respective countries, even the foundation of Strasbourg is incomplete.

"Strasbourg Europe" is not merely a rump of Western Europe: it is a rump led by the same forces which failed abysmally in the twenties and thirties. Our American conditioning of Western Europe has restored the old bankrupt teams.

HEROES WITHOUT HALOES: The main heroes of Strasbourg were:

Paul Reynaud, Premier of France in June, 1940—the very embodiment of French defeat;

Paul-Henri Spaak, ex-Premier of Belgium, who in the thirties fought collective security and advocated long-range peaceful coexistence with Nazi Germany;

Winston Churchill of Great Britain, who has a kind of mild and sympathetic contempt for France and Italy and is pushing for a French-German alliance under British supervision as a first line of British control in continental Europe.

Churchill tries to compensate for British weakness with a network of alliances going in all directions. He is for an Anglo-American alliance, and for strengthening of the Empire, and for the Council of Europe. But even Churchill cannot have everything at once. Pampering the rump of Western Europe, he is in fact promoting an anti-British alliance.

BRAWLING PARTNERS: For the main line of division in Strasbourg was between Great Britain and the Western European continental countries; more concretely, between the Labor government and the continental conservatives. The clash will continue. It is a clash of foreign policies and of economic policies.

The British Labor government is clearly pursuing a non-continental policy, while the Western European conservatives, now in power, become more and more anti-British, fighting the British planned economy. The N. Y. **Times** correspondent on foreign economic policy, Michael Hoffman, made the observation that for most Europeans the question now is "whether and how to proceed without Britain." But the Labor government is convinced that its policy of full employment and controls should not be hitched to the ricketty French and Italian economy.

"Strasbourg Europe" will break down on that controversy.

Pots & pocketbooks

...and woman's place

By Charlotte Parks

LABOR DAY honors labor—our own and that of others. In India a mausoleum was built by an oldtime rajah whose mother had stood by him in his fight for the freedom of his people. On it are these words: "Once you bore me as a man. A second time you bore me as a patriot." What woman could ask for a nobler tribute?

It isn't feminine chauvinism to say the most important person in the world today is the homemaker—not the Craig's Wife who worships polished furniture and the perfect pudding, not the housekeeper. The making of good citizens is the end product of good homemaking. It is the politically alert wife whose husband helps with the dishes so that they can go together to an important meeting.

NO MORE HOOPSKIRTS: Political illiteracy is as old-fashioned as hoopskirts.

Homemaking is a psychosomatic job—a matter of body and soul. A good table discussion of an article in the GUARDIAN will make a raw apple taste better than the best chitchat apple pie ever baked.

The mother can vote right, can stand with her husband in his social and economic ideals, can look for the union label on what she buys. She can be prepared to give thoughtful opinions on political matters, in the park as well as in the home. The woman who religiously takes reducing exercises after childbirth should remember that her heart and brain are as important as her waistline.

THE WIDER SCENE: Woman once thought that if an expectant mother saw beautiful pictures and listened to good music the unborn child would be influenced. They were right. What you are and what you think influences your child to the end of time.

Labor Day is not just the day before the children go back to school. It is the day to talk to children about labor in this present world scene. It is the day to consider the place and work of your family in the larger world of labor, war and peace, race relations, politics. The home may be the foundation of society, but a bomb-cellar doesn't give much comfort when the superstructure of society is blown to bits.

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Does your bookshop carry the GUARDIAN? If not send us the name and address of the shop and we'll do the rest.

Deadly parallel

It took Hitler nine years after he came to power to plunge Germany and the world into World War II. A pamphlet has been published drawing a graphic parallel between the events in Germany during those fateful pre-war years and what is happening in the U.S. today. Called **Deadly Parallel**, the pamphlet is obtainable from the Civil Rights Congress, 205 E. 42d St., N.Y. 17, N.Y. Cost: 5c a copy to individuals, 2c each to organizations.

A calendar for progressives

New York

DOCUMENTARIES: Special showing of new films by New York Council of Arts, Sciences and Professions Sept. 15, 8:40 p.m., at Museum of Modern Art, 11 W. 53d St., N.Y. Admission $1.65. Tickets available at Council, 49 W. 44th St., N.Y. (MU 7-2161).

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BIRTHDAY: Communist Party marks its 30th year at Madison Sq. Garden Sept. 15, 7:30. Party history portrayed through dramatic presentation. Tickets at Jefferson School Bookshop, 575 Sixth Av., Daily Worker, 50 E. 13th St., and Bookfair, 133 W. 44th St. $2 to 60c.

Midwest

DETROIT, MICH.: Michigan State Fair continuing through Sept. 10. An attempt by the city's workers to interest farmers in their joint problems. Information and pamphlets available at offices of Michigan CIO Council, 409 Hoffman Bldg., Detroit 1, Mich., sponsors.

Far West

OLYMPIA, WASH.: Spokesmen for 32,000 organized citizens and union members to appear before State Supreme Court Sept. 16 to demand that state social security department live up to law on relief payments to unemployed. Check your local organization.

DOLLAR STRETCHER

Tips on fall clothing

AS the result of a grudging series of price cuts, retail prices for cotton and rayon clothing this fall will be 10 to 20% below a year ago. These reductions may be all we can expect for the present. In fact, mills and wholesalers, dazzled by the slight upturn resulting from lower prices, are already beginning to inch their prices up again.

Families seeking the most for their money will be wise to fill in their wardrobes judiciously without rushing to buy. Here are three principles that will save you money:

BUY LITTLE AT THE START: Clothing price tags are always highest in September. The first cut-price promotions begin Oct. 12. Hold off buying wool garments particularly until final prices are settled. While cottons and rayons have reached at least a temporary plateau, there are signs of additional reductions on suits and coats, especially if consumers insist on waiting as they have the past two years. One of the largest national men's chains, Howard, has just announced reductions which may help stir competitive price cutting.

AVOID PROMOTION FADS: The fabrics and styles publicized the most command the highest prices—not because they're worth more but because demand is centered on them by the publicity barrage. For that reason, avoid the crisp fabrics in dresses, especially rayon taffeta; stay away from corduroy; avoid gabardine, particularly the sheen gabardines being played up for women's suits. In wool clothing, price cuts have been heaviest on the solid-color materials, smallest on fancy patterns like glen plaids, sharkskins and novelty stripes. These are costliest to manufacture in any case, and are especially overpriced this year. Be skeptical, too, of the price tags on the thin tweeds being promoted as fashionable for women's clothing, although regular-weight tweeds, in both men's and women's clothing, do offer some good values.

WATCH QUALITY CAREFULLY: It's especially important this year to scrutinize quality. Some manufacturers have lowered quality as well as prices. Watch out for these flaws: imperfections in the weave of heavy rayon failles, especially the novelty patterns; excessive shrinkage in sheen gabardines; omission of preshrinkage and fade-resistant finishes in cotton and rayon items; sleazy, low-count cotton shirts with special finishes that make them appear smooth and fine, but which wear poorly. Also be careful about buying nylon skirts. The weaves tend to shift, which results in burst or ripped seams. Nylon has this tendency, anyway, and it shows up most disastrously in skirts where there is more strain on the seams than in blouses and slips.

(Continued from preceding page)

Stockholm to Seattle —peace is popular

PEOPLE talked peace in many places last week:

STOCKHOLM—The World Movement for Federal Government met in the Swedish Parliament and promised "to give forceful expression to the needs and the will of the peoples of the earth to achieve world peace by means of a world federal government." A committee on international control of atomic energy was set up.

BUDAPEST—10,000 delegates to the World Youth Festival, including 200 Americans, decided to "take an oath for world peace and to fight against the Western Union, which is arming the world for a new war." The Americans were led by Grace Tilman of the Southern Negro Youth Congress.

MOSCOW—The All-Union Conference of Peace Supporters was attended by J. D. Bernal of the British Royal Society, T. Russel, chairman of the London Philharmonic, and the Very Rev. Dr. Hewlett Johnson, Dean of Canterbury. Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, anthropologist and author, attended from the U.S.

MEXICO CITY—Former Mexican President Lazaro Cardenas greeted delegates to the Continental Congress for Peace. He called the fight for peace the "conscious expression of the will of the people to rise above divergent philosophical or religious theories, in order to avoid an imminent third world war."

Tribune des Nations, Paris

During an interview with an American newspaperman, Stalin said: "The only thing the U.S.S.R. does not have is cocoa and we're not going to start a war for breakfast."

West Coast wire

Court climax is approaching in loyalty oath test case

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

ON Oct. 17, the case of Helen Parker et al. vs. County of Los Angeles et al. will come before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case thus prosaically packaged involves the right of all public employes in America to private lives and opinions. It's the high court's first "loyalty oath" test case—the climax of 90 Los Angeles County employes' defiance, two years ago, of the nation's first local-level loyalty check. Here are some ingredients of the package.

SINISTER PEOPLE: Seventeen of the defiant 90, who refused to touch any portion of the oath, were fired forthwith after the check. The other 73 face dismissal if the top court upholds the country's right to bounce employes for practicing the principles of the Bill of Rights.

The 73 balked at the proscribed list of 142 organizations borrowed from State Sen. Jack B. Tenney, discredited ex-chairman of California's "Little Thomas" Committee. Proscribed groups included four labor unions, five political action groups, two publications, two schools, five foreign affairs discussion bodies, six organizations opposing racial and religious discrimination and six promoting citizen interest in civic affairs. Ignoring the city charter clause prohibiting discharge or discrimination for "political or religious opinions or affiliations," county authorities gave employes one week to sign or be fired.

IMPRUDENT MAILMEN: For turning down a similar "loyalty oath" adopted by the City Council, 23 city employes* were fired. Other public workers yanked from civil service jobs by the witch-hunters included Justin W. Mackey Jr., Negro mail carrier who admitted dining with a white family; Frank Barnes, mailman whose NAACP branch supported a picket line protesting discriminatory hiring by a Sears Roebuck store; and postal clerk Bernard Corlin, accused of driving a "suspect" home from a civil rights mass meeting nine years ago.

Drs. Samuel Rosenthal and David M. Goldstein of the City Health Dept. signed the "non-communist" oath but were fired nonetheless. Rosenthal had added the note to his oath: "What is this—Nazi Germany?" Goldstein added to his: "Also not a member of the Ku Klux Klan." His helpfulness was not appreciated.

RED OR GREEN? Around the fight of the 90 non-signers was formed the United Defense Committee Against "Loyalty" Checks, under auspices of the AFL State, County and Municipal Employes, Local 558, and the CIO United Public Workers, Local 246. From 919½ W. 6th St., Los Angeles 14, the committee is conducting a whirlwind campaign, with a nationwide plea for funds to fight through one of the toughest scraps since independent Americans first challenged the authority of kings.

Is it to be a red or a green light for the thought-controllers of today's America? Six weeks remain before the Supreme Court must decide.

Other people's ideas

Gene Debs — and us

By Sebastian Barr

ONE day in 1922 a lanky, bald, bespectacled stranger who looked like my idea of a middle west farmer walked into the office of The Call, New York's socialist daily on which I was man-Fridaying, fresh out of college.

The Call's editorial room was a dark, dusty, littered hole in the wall. But something happened to that room when the stranger walked in. It was as if he had brought his own light with him. The place seemed to become radiant. When he smiled and greeted the men clustering about him, clasping this one's hand and putting his arm around the other's shoulders, everyone seemed happy for the first time since I came to work on the paper.

When, afterwards, I asked who the stranger was, the managing editor was half incredulous, half pitying. "Who was that!" he exclaimed. "That, my boy, was Gene Debs."

THAT was Debs—the man who, although he was in jail at the time for opposing Wall Street's war, ran for President in 1920 and won the vote of my father, a bookbinder and Gompers man; the "Hoosier socialist" who captured and held the loyalty of American workers as no labor leader has done before or since; the man who wanted to rise "with the masses, not from the masses."

That is the man who emerges from Ray Ginger's **The Bending Cross**, the best of the many biographies appearing since the American left—perhaps because of the lack of such leaders today—began to study Debs with a new interest.

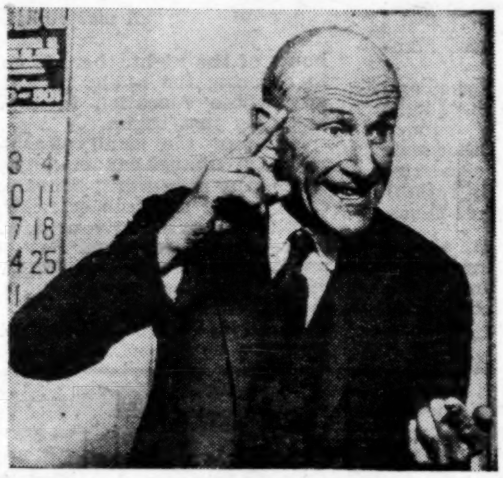
Debs came to socialism the hard way, the way of toilsome union-building experience. At first he thought labor and capital could get together, and was even opposed to the strike as a weapon.

Then came the great Pullman strike—and the coalition with big business of the government as strike-breaker by injunction. Debs went to jail a courageous labor leader. He came out still a simple American working man, still a believer in labor's day-to-day struggle for a better deal, but now a convinced socialist—knowing that the class struggle was a fact, that a capitalist government played the game the capitalist way and only a working class government could give the workingman a fair break.

DEBS knew what the Tom Clarks will probably never learn, that "great issues are decided not by courts but by the people." And he knew how to impart his socialist understanding, militantly yet with warm humanity, as an American to Americans.

Where is the Debs of today? Is it true that a time of crisis inevitably throws up such a leader? I, for one, can breathe more freely knowing Henry Wallace is among us. But can he arouse the affection and loyalty of the common man widely and quickly enough to check the growing cancers in our nation? And who will make socialism a living cause again for the millions in America?

THE BENDING CROSS. By Ray Ginger. Rutgers University Press. 501 pp. $5.



EUGENE V. DEBS
With—not from—the masses

Listen, Ma, about that — First time at school

MILLIONS of children in the U.S. are about to be bundled off to public school for the first time, nervously excited themselves and transmitting an even more nervous agitation to their parents.

Amid the parental bustle of digging up birth and medical certificates and seeing to proper clothes, there has been far too little attention given to the fundamental problem of adjustment for school "first-timers"—both children and parents. Recognizing this, the New York City Board of Education has distributed a simple leaflet designed to help pupils and adults get off to a good start.

READING FEARS: Many people, it appears, start out with a fear that something is horribly wrong because a child can't read. "Your child may not learn to read as soon as he enters school," says the leaflet. "Before he can be taught to read, a child must be 'ready' for reading. . . . It is not necessary to teach your child to read before he enters school. . . . You can get him 'ready.' Speak clearly to him. Explain word meanings. Encourage him to talk about his experiences. . . . Teach him songs. If you do these things, you will be giving him some of the experiences that will make reading easy and pleasant for him."

VISITS TO SCHOOL: Frequent visits to school and talks with the teacher are urged, with the parents providing plenty of information about the child—"his desires, his strengths, his weaknesses, his problems, his special interests and talents.

"Remember that children are not alike," the New York experts say. "Each develops best at his own pace. So don't compare your child unfavorably with his brothers, sisters or friends. Don't push him beyond his capacities."

CALMING THE CHILD: On the psychological side, parents are advised that the child "is excited about the new adventure that faces him. He's a little afraid, too. . . . Tell him that school will be an enjoyable and exciting experience for him. . . . He will make many new friends. . . . His teachers will be interested, friendly, and sympathetic guides and counsellors."

HEALTH HINTS: Cautions are advanced on the child's health—"the basis of his success in school and in life." Vaccination and protection against childhood diseases; regular physical checkups and care to keep the child home when he is at all under the weather; plenty of sleep and rest; simple and comfortable dress; and sufficient morning time to get up, eat and get ready for school without rushing.

Without saying it in so many words, the New York leaflet points strongly to this moral for "beginning" children and parents: starting in public school is a big thing; intelligent preparation will produce big results.

Strolling players

ON the American stage Negroes are rarely given a chance to play normal roles in serious plays. Few of them get any kind of a role—even in the best of times.

Now a group of American Negro actors have been given a chance to play serious parts in serious plays—but not in the U.S. The Norwegian government has invited a group of Howard University drama students to tour Norway in plays by Strindberg, Ibsen and DuBose and Dorothy Heyward. The group has also been invited to Denmark and Sweden.

Someone ought to suggest the State Department extend a similar invitation to the American actors to tour their own country.

Report to new readers

Welcome to the Guardian family

IN the last few months, since we cut the price of this newsweekly from $4 a year on May 2, tens of thousands of new readers have joined the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

In the last few weeks many more thousands have begun receiving the GUARDIAN for the first time.

We want to tell you where we stand, repeating in part what we had to say in Vol. I, No. 1, last Oct. 18.

In the first place, we are an independent newsweekly with no ties to any political party but finding ourselves most times in 99-44/100% agreement with the policies and program of the Progressive Party nationally and the American Labor Party in New York.

OUR first statement of policy, last Oct. 18, explained this position at that time (pre-election) and we have found no reason to warrant a change of position. At that time the editors wrote:

NATIONAL GUARDIAN will have no editorial page. But it will certainly have an editorial point of view.

This editorial point of view will be a continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and overwhelmingly supported by the American people in the last four Presidential elections.

We conceive this progressive tradition to be represented today by Henry A. Wallace.

We believe, with FDR and Henry Wallace, in expanding freedoms and living standards for all peoples as the essential foundation of a world securely at peace.

We believe, with FDR and Henry Wallace, that peace can be secured only by seeking areas of agreement among nations, rather than seeking areas of disagreement.

We believe that our country's resources should be used to create an abundant life for the people who developed them, with freedom and opportunity for all. We believe that the interests of property should never and nowhere be respected above the interests of people. . . .

With FDR, we believe that:

"The liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state. That, in its essence, is fascism."

. . . .Pursuing these principles from the week we were born, last October, we have grown to better than 75,000 readers in ten months, located in every nook and cranny of the U.S., RFD and metropolitan centers alike. In the next few weeks and months we expect to add many thousands more.

WE have had no huge sums of money for promotion. This paper has been built solely and unceasingly by its own readers. As with the old **American Guardian** and **Appeal to Reason**, the readers of this paper have packed a copy under their arm and set out to win friends and supporters for it. Some readers individually have sent in literally hundreds of new, convinced readers.

If you are a new reader, please know that we want you for a permanent reader and builder. If you are one of our Old Reliables—of the 5,000 who started out with us or the 25,000 who tackled the job of doubling our circulation back in May—we still have an almighty job to do together. One look at the press treatment of the Robeson concert affair in your local paper or newsmagazine should convince you of that.

Whoever you are, wherever you are, swell the ranks of GUARDIAN subscribers, now. Use the coupon below, or hunt up that GUARDIAN subscription postcard you probably received recently. Help build and maintain a press that stands for an honest deal for just plain people, with no bows to advertisers or conniving politicians.

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

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Shanghai special

The new phenomenon in China: Officials can't be corrupted

By Peter Townsend

SHANGHAI

IN New China the old officialdom is already an extinct species. Behind Confucian expressions of concern for the common man, this red-buttoned mandarinate has for centuries exercised a "paternalism" which descended to oppression and corruption at the slightest threat to its authority. To maintain itself it has traded on the respect in which learning is held—a learning which, because official literary style was so complicated and the hieroglyphics of Chinese writing so intricate, poor scholars could not acquire.

CAN SUCH THINGS BE? In its place came a new type of official whose like China had never seen.

To Shanghai's well-established disbelieving citizens, the figures in simple olive-drab uniforms who sat behind the desks in the municipal offices or worked in the manager's office of the city's banks were too naive to be real. How could one pay attention to an official who showed no interest in "squeeze" or commissions? Wasn't it unfilial or unfriendly if he didn't take advantage of his position to get his relatives easy jobs in the government? And after all, what could these fellows really know about running a city when they had spent many years of their lives in one-horse villages with uneducated peasants?

Even some of the workers had their doubts. "We only hope they aren't so simple that they're easily deceived. Or too good-hearted," said some.

SPARTAN STANDARDS: This new race of officials includes many from well-off homes, even from the best schools and universities of Shanghai itself. But they have learned to master the art of communal living and working.

All of them eat one of three standard "kitchens": "Little Kitchen" for 90% of the administration, giving each of them enough daily rice, enough cooking oil, and a few cents for vegetables (enough perhaps to buy half a cabbage) with a pound or so of meat a month to each person; "Middle" and "Big Kitchen" for the higher 10%, only slightly more luxurious.

All wear one type of uniform, and each receives one summer suit of light cotton, one winter suit of padded clothes. Each has a monthly allowance of $1.25 to buy a few extra cigarettes (over and above the monthly ration) or a book or two, or a pair of shoes.

A NEW ORDER: The hard, almost puritan life carries over into their work. From six in the morning, when two hours of study and discussion take them to breakfast, to the late hours of the night, there is no let-up in ordering the affairs of a complex city whose education in democracy has only just begun.

Many of the small pleasures the ordinary Shanghilander enjoys — a meal in a restaurant, being pedalled or pulled in peddicab or rickshaw by another man, a party or a drinking bout—are denied them. New recruits puff to keep up with them. "T'ai lihai," they murmur. "Too formidable, too formidable!"

Gradually blasé Shanghai has grown used to them, to the sight of women administrators walking the streets in the company of men (a strange sight, for under the Kuomintang a woman could hardly rise above a clerkship in the government). But the officials of the New China are not after the approval of Shanghai's upper crust. Their manner of living—below that of a private in the People's Army, of a skilled hand in the textile mills or a middle farmer—brings them close to the people who are asking for leadership.

THE NEW CHINA BUILDS ON THEM

A war refugee gets a bowl of what he needs

Poland

A novena and a trial in Krakow

By Richard A. Yaffe

KRAKOW, POLAND

IN the church across the narrow medieval street from my hotel window, a novena is in its fourth day, with one service following another from early morning until after dark. The church is jammed beyond its doors. An old woman has been kneeling for 15 minutes now in front of the church, her face on the sidewalk, not stirring a muscle.

The novena is one of two simultaneous events, in this most Catholic city of Europe's most Catholic country, sidelighting the controversy between church and state. The other, in a 30-by-30 courtroom not ten minutes away by foot, was a trial which ended in conviction of a Jesuit priest and three others to death for banditry.

Both have drawn large crowds in 1,000-year-old Krakow—a substantially middle-class city untouched by war, full of gripers against the regime who live in the past and speak in French or English in preference to Polish. (Krakow has explained to me what the Russians mean by "cosmopolitanism.")

When the Vatican threatened excommunication for Communists, the Polish government took the steam-out of Catholics here who were spreading rumors of what Warsaw might do about it. The government's statement was conciliatory, advising church people to act as church people and not as politicians. But there was a cool hint of what might befall those who did not take the advice, and the "i" was dotted by the just-finished banditry trial.

THE UNDERGROUND: The crime for which the priest and three others were sentenced consisted of forming a Nationalist band which has done some killing in the Krakow region; of planning and leading armed robberies on Krakow banks to finance the illegal organization, and of recruiting youngsters into the underground.

The tiny military tribunal was jammed to three times what it should have held and people were perched on window sills, hung from the gingerbread around pillars, and standing on chairs outside the doors to get a look at the drama.

There was perfect decorum within the courtroom, and only a low murmur as the chief judge, a bald lieutenant-colonel with a jutting jaw, droned through the long verdict and said one fateful word four times: Death, Death, Death, Death.

"GOD APPROVED": The priest, Wladislaw Gurgacz, who is 35 but looks 20, and whose confession had been read in court, was dressed in an unpressed gray business suit, his cravatless shirt buttoned to the neck. His priestly garb he had left behind in his cell.

He stared straight ahead as kleig lights shone on his face and newsreel

cameras and leicas clicked, and his face betrayed no emotion as the sentence was passed. Gurgacz had had his say earlier. He asked for no mercy; what he did was done, he said, with the approval of his God.

Michal Zak, a divinity student of 35 in clerical collar and black cape, gazed at the golden chandelier and passed bony fingers over his face, hiding deep-set eyes for a moment as he heard his doom pronounced.

TWO NAMES: The prosecutor said in his summation that America will call this trial a battle against religion, but that the Polish people will call it by its right name—"a battle against Polish bandits."

Kashmir

Adm. Nimitz: A man with faith in UN

By Marcelle Hitschmann

LAKE SUCCESS

"HOW do you feel about these attacks on UN coming out of Washington, Admiral Nimitz?"

The Admiral smiled and said: "I believe in the United Nations and its ideals. I think it is the best formula human minds have been able to evolve so far. Every intelligent person should work for it; not enough people know about UN and the good job it does."

Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz was wearing a civilian suit; you would never have suspected him of belonging to the "gold braid." He is a kindly man with soft eyes and silvery hair, who greets you with a delightful smile and even more delightful simplicity. In his air-conditioned office at Lake Success, when I visited him, he was packed and ready to leave at any moment for Kashmir to supervise a plebiscite organized under UN auspices.

THE TROUBLE STARTS: Jammu and Kashmir is an Indian princely state bordering Tibet and Sinkiang and separated by a narrow strip of Afghanistan from the U.S.S.R. When the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir started in 1948, Admiral Nimitz had no idea he would ever play a part in it. He had just completed his duties as Chief of Naval Operations in Washington (the highest post a naval officer can reach), and was settling down in Berkeley, where he had been appointed to the University of California's Board of Regents.

But at Lake Success the Security Council was considering India's appeal to UN, in which Pakistan was accused of inciting Kashmiris to fight. Trouble had started in Kashmir when old India was partitioned into two Dominions, India and Pakistan. A few states like Kashmir had the right to accede to either of these Dominions or to remain independent.

The Hindu Maharajah of Kashmir, Sir Hari Singh, hastily joined up with India, but its predominantly Moslem population wanted to go with Pakistan. Fighting broke out, half a million Kashmiris fled to Pakistan or India. The Security Council appointed a mediation commission (UNCIP). Once a truce was reached, a plebiscite would be held in Kashmir under UN supervision.

NIMITZ ON THE JOB: In March this year the State Department asked Admiral Nimitz whether he would undertake to supervise the plebiscite, if his name were acceptable to the disputing parties? India, Pakistan and the Admiral said yes.

That is why Mrs. Nimitz is—impartially—learning Urdu and Hindustani, and the Admiral has become an authority on Kashmir—though he has never been nearer India than Colombo, Ceylon, where a square-rigged ship in which he sailed from Manila to the U.S. dropped anchor in 1908.

But India and Pakistan have still not made the truce necessary to conduct the plebiscite. President Truman has appealed to them both to do so quickly.

"I hope this appeal will expedite the matter," said Nimitz. "I'm determined to go ahead—but in mountainous, inaccessible Kashmuir it is nip and tuck to hold the plebiscite next year unless we can go there this fall before communications are blocked by snow."

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